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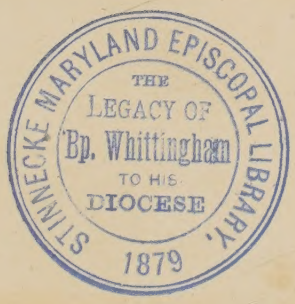
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2. National Catholicity: or the Prospects of the Christian Church in South Western Europe considered. By Francis Bonaventure Goussier. Oxford 1844

3. The Anglo-Prussian Bishopric of St James in Jerusalem: to which are appended Remarks on Dr McCaul's Sermon at the Consecration of Bishop Alexander. By the Rev. W. Hoffmann, Inspector of the Mission Seminary at Basle. Translated from the German. London 1842

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ON INTERCOURSE

WITH

EASTERN CHURCHES;

AND THE

ECCLESIASTICAL CONDITION OF THE ENGLISH ABROAD.

LONDON:
GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

ON INTERCOURSE

BETWEEN

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE CHURCHES IN THE EAST;

AND ON THE

ECCLESIASTICAL CONDITION OF THE ENGLISH ABROAD.

BY

JAMES BEAVEN, M.A.

CURATE OF LEIGH.

REPRINTED, WITH ALTERATIONS, FROM THE BRITISH MAGAZINE;

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TO THE HONOURABLE AND RIGHT REVEREND

RICHARD,

BY DIVINE PERMISSION,

LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD,

AND CHANCELLOR OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER,

THESE REMARKS,

ON TWO SUBJECTS, IN WHICH THE SACRED ORDER TO WHICH

HE BELONGS IS MOST ESPECIALLY CONCERNED,

ARE,

BY HIS KIND PERMISSION,

AND IN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF MANY AND UNMERITED FAVOURS,

MOST RESPECTFULLY AND GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED.

NOTICE.

THE approbation which was bestowed on these papers on their appearance in the British Magazine, by persons whose opinion was in the highest degree valuable, would have led to their immediate publication in a separate shape, had not the writer been withheld by personal considerations. The knowledge that views almost identical with those advocated in them, have gained ground in the highest places of the Church, and the hope that their publication may be useful at the present juncture, have in a great measure removed the objections which at first existed; and they are therefore given to the public, with such alterations as better information has suggested, and the omission of such passages, as, however true in themselves, appeared likely to interfere with the writer's principal ends.

July, 1840.

ON INTERCOURSE

WITH

EASTERN CHURCHES.

THE communion of saints in the primitive church was kept up both in the bosom of each particular church and in the church at large. By the former, the Christians on each particular spot, or in each particular district, were kept together as one body; by the latter, the Christians throughout the world were united in one.

The Christians of each individual church were united by a common reception of baptism, by a habit of assembling together for divine worship, more especially that highest act of earthly worship, the holy communion, and by mutual sympathy and assistance in matters both temporal and spiritual. They were brought into communion by baptism; they were most especially kept in it by the ordi-

nance divinely appointed for that purpose, the Lord's supper. Their partaking together in *one bread* preserved them in *one body*.

This body, again, was not merely an aggregate of individuals, but a society, and as such under government; and the holy communion kept the body not only united, but united under its governors. For it implied not only recipients but distributors; and the distributors were the pastors of the flock. It required a consecration; and none was empowered to consecrate but those who continued in union with the chief pastor in each church, i. e. the bishop. If they deserted his communion, or were excluded from it, they ceased to have a right to preside at the eucharist, or to distribute it to other believers. In this way each church continued one compact body; and whoever was not in union with it was known to be so.

But besides this communion in the individual societies, there was a communion in the church at large. Every member of each particular church was a member of the church universal, and had a *right* to communion in every other church. The pastors likewise of particular churches held the same place in whatever part of the Christian world they happened to be. These rights, however, were, as a matter of discipline, subject to restrictions, the object of which was the more effectually to preserve the unity of the whole body. Thus the chief pastors or bishops were united together by the delivery

to the neighbouring bishops, on their election, of a profession of faith, by being consecrated by other bishops, by admitting each other to officiate mutually at the eucharist, by meeting in synods, and frequently by being subject to the same metropolitan. They could not officiate in another diocese without the consent of the bishop of that diocese, unless he had come under the charge of heresy or schism; neither could they receive any of his clergy without his consent.

These latter again were subject to the bishop to whose diocese they were ordained; they could do nothing in it contrary to his will; they could not remove to another diocese without his consent, and letters credential; and if they officiated in another diocese without the consent of the bishop of it, they were equally guilty of irregularity and schism.

The laity of the church were less restricted; but they could not *claim* to be admitted in another church without letters recommendatory from their own bishop. This, however, appears to have been simply to avoid imposition, and therefore was probably not enforced except when imposition was feared.

All these regulations tended to preserve unity of doctrine and harmony of feeling, with mutual sympathy, throughout the catholic church.

The former part of the communion of saints has been preserved in particular churches; but in the church universal it has been well nigh lost. It is

true that the Christians of most churches pray for each other in a body, as members of the whole church; but this does not bring the various parts of the church together in a visible, tangible communion. The ordinance recognised in the Scripture as that by which we are or ought to be united is, the sacrament of the Lord's supper, *the holy communion*. It is impossible, therefore, that the communion of saints in the church at large can be complete until we return to the state of things which prevailed in the first ages, when every apostolic church admitted to the participation of that ordinance all who had the right of communion in any such church. That this is not the case at present it would be idle to question. We, it may be, should admit to our communion those who have the right to it in any community preserving the apostolical succession; but how few members of the Roman, or Greek, or Egyptian, or Abyssinian churches would desire to communicate with us? Few of us, likewise, it is to be feared, would have the wish to partake of their communion, even where no conscientious impediment exists; nay, in all the churches subject to Rome, we, in common with most other churches, are debarred from so doing, until we consent to condemn our mother church of schism and heresy, and to be separatists in our own country. But few of us, it is to be feared, greatly regret that it is not otherwise. We look down upon the ancient foreign churches as too corrupt and superstitious for us to think of uniting

with them in divine worship, even where we are not debarred. If we can carry abroad our own clergy, and our own worship, we are satisfied. We seek no communion with others.

Now, how different is this state of things from that which prevailed in the early ages! Then every orthodox Christian found a home in whatever part of the church he happened to be. The only impediment to his *feeling* himself at home was difference of language; but this was no hindrance to his being received with open arms, and admitted to every Christian privilege to which he was entitled in his native country; and if he mastered the language of the country he visited, everything was open to him. There were differences of usage, but to these he would conform. There were differences in the wording and arrangement of liturgies; but the same great divisions and subjects of devotion appeared in all. A short period of residence, and he forgot that he was a stranger.

How much does it appear to be desired that this state of things should be revived! Surely it must tend to strengthen the Christian cause if those without the church could *see* that Christians, wherever they are, unite in one faith and in one worship. Surely it must tend likewise to the internal improvement of the church. There is scarcely any church in which there are not some inveterate errors of discipline or practice. We in particular have lost the discipline of primitive times: would it not help to

revive it amongst ourselves to associate with members of the Greek church, in which it is in a degree preserved? Most of the elder churches, on the other hand, have fallen into corruptions from which we have been happily delivered: would it not tend to their improvement to be united more intimately with us, and thus to see the advantages of reforming their own institutions? We have lost those habits of mortification of the flesh as a religious duty which the Christians of apostolical times practised; whilst the Eastern churches have retained them: would it not be an advantage to us if intercourse brought their example more before us? On the other hand, they lay an undue stress on the mere outward act: would they not learn from us to give it its due place? to make it a means of discipline, instead of an act in itself meritorious? The advantage, however, in the way of improvement, would probably be more on their side than on ours, although it does not become us to be too confident. But if so, will not our active sympathy for them quicken piety amongst ourselves? Nay, will it not strengthen the cause of religion amongst ourselves, to see it reviving in other churches? Indeed, in looking at the present improved prospects of the church of England, and the healthier state of feeling now prevalent within her pale, it will, I imagine, be acknowledged that a very large share of it is to be attributed to the sympathy which has been called forth for others,—for the heathen, for the ignorant at home, for our colonies,

for the increasing towns destitute of church accommodation. The kindly and warm feelings we have been led to entertain for others have quickened to life the torpid germs of good in ourselves, and raised the standard of conduct itself amongst us.

That the Greek and Eastern churches have great claims upon our sympathy has long been evident to many in this country. Inhabiting the countries in which the gospel itself arose and spread most successfully at the very beginning; the scene of the labours of those first missionaries of the faith whose history has come down to us in fullest particularity; being themselves, as churches, lineal descendants of those planted by St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. John; the theatre of all the great transactions in the history of the primitive church; the arena of the exertions and sufferings of the great names of Christian antiquity, of Ignatius and Polycarp, of Justin and Clement, of Athanasius, Basil, and the Gregories, and Chrysostom,—to whom the church of England looks back as the fathers of its Reformation; these are sufficient reasons why we should look towards them with gratitude, and affection, and respect. But they have more touching claims on us still. They are sunk and degenerated. Though abhorring the name of idolatry, they pay religious reverence to pictures and raised figures. Though strict in the observance of fasts, fraud and bloodshed are accounted venial offences. Their worship has become unintelligible to the people, and instead of being a spiritual service

is overloaded with minute forms and empty shows. The ONE Mediator is almost forgotten, and his mother and other saints have usurped his place. The churches no longer resound with the word of the sacred preacher. The Lord's day is become a season of business or pleasure.

Again, large portions of them are degraded and oppressed by Turkish tyranny. Their lives and property are at the mercy of despotic misrule or popular outbreaks. Their very bishops and patriarchs hold their stations at the will of the infidel, and are deposed or elevated at his pleasure [1].

In the midst, however, of these unfavourable circumstances, they are not irremediably sunk. Instances of martyrdom for conscience' sake are not infrequent. There is a general acquaintance with the facts and doctrines of the gospel which will scarcely be found even in this country. There is a willingness to receive information; and not merely that, but a thankful reception of the Scriptures in the ancient and vernacular tongues. The clergy, though poor, are frequently able to cope in argument with the average of English clergymen, and recognise the holy Scriptures as the ultimate standard of appeal.

[1] Instances of the deposition of the patriarchs of Constantinople at the mere will of the Turkish emperor, must be familiar to every well-informed person. The last instance, of very recent occurrence, is melancholy in every point of view. See Appendix, No. I.

There are likewise bonds of union already subsisting between us, if not utterly broken through by recent mistakes on our part. They retain the three sacred orders of bishops, priests, and deacons; and their distinction is preserved even more strictly than with us. They practise a discipline which we recognise. They have, like us, an ancient liturgy, and they even admire our own. They have the same creeds as ourselves. Their doctrine of the sacrament of baptism is the same as our own; and although many of them hold the error of transubstantiation in the eucharist, yet many agree with us, the question being with them an open one. They hold the same combined standard of Scripture and antiquity which our own church recognises. They, like us, protest against the usurpations of the Roman bishops. They do not believe in purgatory; and although in regard to the reverence paid to pictures they practically are in the same error as they, yet it is not bound upon them by any public authority; and the very circumstance that they *profess* to abhor idolatry opens a way for a reformation. Persons high in their church have paid religious visits to this country, or held intercourse with it. Finally, they have been accustomed till of late to look to us with almost entire confidence. Can more be necessary to lead us to look to them with interest?

And indeed the fact is, that they have inspired great interest in the religious and well-informed amongst us. In the time of Charles the First, there

was a friendly correspondence between Dr. Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Constantinople. The patriarch was strongly disposed to reform his church, and promoted the translation of the Scriptures. He lost his life through the opposition he made to the union of the Greek church with Rome. The interest was revived in the reign of Charles II. by Sir Paul Ricaut, English consul at Smyrna, who published in 1679 an account of "The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches;" by Dr. Smith, then chaplain to the British embassy at Constantinople, who published in 1680, both in English and in Latin, an "Account of the State of the Greek Church." After the Revolution, a correspondence was opened between the nonjurors, calling themselves the Catholics of England, and the bishops of the Greek church, with a view to a union; and subsequently attention was kept up by Dr. Covel, in 1722, by his "Account, with Reflections on their Doctrines and Discipline."

The subject appears to have slept till the present century, when the attention of the Church Missionary Society was drawn to the subject by the intercourse opened through the Bible Society, and in 1815 they appointed an English clergyman, Mr. Jowett, to reside at Malta, and to travel in the Mediterranean; and from that time to this they have been employed with much solicitude and perseverance, and with a certain measure of success, in endeavouring to revive

religion amongst the Christians bordering on the Mediterranean. And no doubt one great circumstance which has given the Church Missionary and Bible Societies such a hold on the sympathies of a large body of churchmen, even of those who have not felt at liberty to join them, is the interest inspired by the narratives of intercourse with Greek and Eastern Christians.

More recently, the Christian Knowledge Society has taken up the subject, and availed itself of the opportunity afforded by the late expedition to the Euphrates to obtain information as to the condition of the churches bordering on that great river, and to offer assistance[1]. As the subject is yet, with regard to that society, in its infancy, it appears a proper period to consider more distinctly the principles upon which our intercourse with them should be carried on; and these we must establish with reference to two points—1st, the general one of endeavouring to re-establish intercommunion between ourselves and the Eastern churches; and 2nd, the particular one of endeavouring the reformation or improvement of any of them with which we may have any influence.

Now, in regard to both, it is obvious that our only hope of success rests upon our finding some ground which we can occupy in common, some principles upon which we shall all agree. It is true, and it is most happy, that we all agree in accounting the holy

[1] Its Foreign Translation Committee has likewise a valuable agent in the Mediterranean.

Scriptures the standard of doctrine; and that the whole of the Eastern Christians approve the general reading of them in the vernacular languages. This has been most fully ascertained by the agents of the Bible Society, and by all other persons who have attempted to distribute it. But in deducing doctrine from Scripture, they have little idea of the modern resource of criticism; for learning, according to our notion of it, they have little. For doctrine, and for discipline, and worship, their *practical* resource is the tradition of the present church. Still, in matters of practice they are open to conviction from Scripture as individuals, and they are not so bound to superstitious usages of their church as that schism would necessarily follow from abandoning them. But if the tradition of the present church is called in question, the professed resort of the clergy is, equally with ourselves, to primitive tradition; and they reverence it so much that it appears almost, if not quite, to be on an equal footing with the Scriptures. Now it so happens, that all their worst superstitions are condemned by antiquity; so that by means of an authority, which is in their eyes sacred, we have the means of overthrowing every thing really antiscriptural in their present practice. Again, in all points of necessary doctrine they already agree with us, and a reference to antiquity presents the means of a perfect agreement. The tone of mind of their clergy is much debased, but primitive models may be found to which we may recal them. Lastly, a real

following of primitive tradition will lead them to put it in its proper place, and make it ancillary to Scripture, not equal to it, or virtually superseding it.

But, in order to our being able to take them to that ground effectively, we must go to it ourselves, not merely for the sake of argument with them, as some say our reformers did towards the Romanists, but frankly and cordially, with a real deference to it, and a sincere adoption of its spirit. For we have to deal with compact, well-organized bodies of men ; it is our wish to unite with them not ourselves merely but our successors ; to influence them not merely for a time, but permanently. We must therefore adopt principles, and proceed upon views and feelings, which are likely to be permanent in both churches, to recommend themselves to the highest authorities in the eastern, and to be such as both we can at all times appeal to and they are likely at all times to recognise, and to be able to press upon their subordinates every where to an indefinite period. And we must be sensible that, next to the Scriptures, and as explanatory of them, and following up their spirit, there is nothing we can mutually appeal to but the canons of the primitive church, and the consent of early fathers. We must fall back, as our reformers did, upon *ancient primitive principles ;* none other, common to us and them, are they likely to recognise, and none other must we attempt to act upon.

For if we do, although they may at first in their simplicity receive us on account of our mutual

recognition of the supreme authority of holy Scripture, of our mutual possession of an apostolical church government and liturgies, and our mutual rejection of the authority of Rome, yet, when in course of time they discover that our private judgment, or the authority of our own church, is our ultimate standard of interpretation and of discipline, they must necessarily become jealous of us, and alienated from us. And after such a spirit has once taken root amongst them, we shall be further from union with them than we are even now: for now we are simply not united in outward communion; then, we should be severed in heart and feeling. Again, if we should succeed in attaching only a portion of them to us, we may succeed in reviving interior religion for a time amongst that portion, but we shall inevitably make schisms amongst them. Our adherents will go to the length of our dissenting communities, and, as a matter partly of conscience and partly of feeling, will set up formally new communities holding principles hostile even to our own. This will re-act upon the churches, will wed them more firmly to their errors, and alienate them permanently from us. Thus we shall have separated the whole of them from us: or if, which is extremely improbable, we should succeed in inoculating the whole of those churches with our personal views,—as they will not be those upon which our church was reformed, nor those permanently recognised by it, although we may for a time both reform them and keep them in union with us,—we

shall have established principles amongst them which shall either ultimately lead to schisms amongst themselves, or to the estrangement of the whole body of them from thus.

These principles, then, will lead us in the first place to treat those churches not only as independent churches, but also, whatever their defects, as equal in rank and station to our own; and will consequently, as indeed good feeling and policy equally would, prevent us from addressing them in any thing like a tone of dictation. Indeed, considering that Jerusalem is the mother see of the Christian world, that Antioch and Alexandria were probably made settled churches by St. Peter or under his direction, that Constantinople was long the metropolis of the Roman empire, and that these four have been metropolitan sees for so many ages; considering likewise that almost all the churches of the East can *ascertain* an *early* apostolical foundation; it may be reasonably expected that a degree of deference should be rendered to them greater than our own churches can claim. This would be more especially the case when simple clergymen conduct the intercourse. Surely they ought to yield the same respect to eastern prelates, merely as prelates, which they render to their own. Influence, our political position, and still more our wealth, may give us, as they did to Rome in primitive days; but superiority upon ancient principles we can have none, and we must avoid the appearance of claiming it. We must approach them

as brethren, and frankly and cordially own them in some respects our superiors; for they inhabit the earliest seats of our common religion, and some of their churches were famous in the earth when ours was scarcely heard of. Better knowledge we may have; in learning and Christian cultivation we may be superior; (although even there our superiority has been much overrated;) but if we have had greater advantages we must show the fruit of them by our meekness and charity. We must not send out missions of avowed instruction and advice, but of fraternity, and concord, and assistance. It may be that in many cases their ignorance and superstition are deep, but if so the greater will be their self-satisfaction and obstinacy; and we must be careful how, by showing our perception of these deficiencies too strongly at first, we awaken prejudice or excite hostility, which may throw back our re-union a hundred years.

For the same reason, it would appear undesirable so to present our *liturgy* to them, as though we proposed it as a pattern for their imitation. It is true that theirs are disfigured with superstitions and overloaded with ceremonies from which ours is free. But, on the other hand, theirs are fixed in their reverence by the venerable names of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, and even older and apostolical names; they contain much matter of the highest and purest devotion, and large portions of them are of unquestionable primitive antiquity. It is therefore

not to be expected that they should discard forms so recommended to them for one which, as a whole, is of recent date, although many parts of it are of unknown antiquity. Neither in truth is it altogether desirable. The reformation of our own worship was not effected by the wholesale adoption of a foreign liturgy, but by the gradual amelioration of the domestic one. It appears, therefore, most prudent to leave them to adopt the same plan, that they should be first led to retrench whatever is decidedly unscriptural[1], and, if other alterations should afterwards appear requisite, that they should be sought, if possible, in the language of their ancient writers, or constructed by their own bishops; for it should always be borne in mind, that in the primitive church the bishops were the absolute arbiters of the public devotion of their dioceses. Translations of our Prayer Book may be and are useful, to show to them that we are catholic in spirit and usages, and to suggest what are the objectionable parts of their own; but ours is still, as a whole, the work of men. We must be sensible that its arrangements are not without inconvenience,

[1] It is remarkable, that in the customary liturgies of the Greek church the greater part of the superstitious matter occurs in those prayers which are appointed to be repeated by the deacon whilst the priest is occupied in the mystic service in the closed chancel. If, therefore, they could be persuaded to open the screens of their chancels, and to return to the primitive custom by which the priest prayed aloud, a considerable portion of what is objectionable would fall at once.

and that in remodelling it alterations were made beyond what our principles required; as for instance, in the omission of the prayer of oblation. By following the plan suggested, they may perhaps avoid mistakes or defects into which we have fallen, and at all events they will by this means undoubtedly carry their people more completely with them.

Adherence to primitive principles will also prevent our attempting anything which may disturb the existing relations of the various orders of the clergy of those churches to each other, or the dependence of the laity upon the clergy. We have a warning, both in Scotland and in the protestant churches on the continent of Europe, of the danger of making the inferior clergy the reformers of the superior, the laity the reformers of their teachers. By acting in this spirit, *they* adopted such measures as have prevented them from being complete churches of Christ, or admitted to full communion by us, even to this day[1]. And how lamentable would it be if we, who have been privileged with a reformation without any material departure from sound principles, should so act as to infuse a spirit of insubordination into any ancient church, or lead any of its members to cast off their subjection to those whom, whatever their deficiencies, Christ's law has placed over them. Our wisdom, therefore, will be in all cases to respect existing authorities, not to attempt to gain influence

[1] I am not here expressing any *opinion*, but speaking of simple *facts*, testified by the discipline of our Church.

over subordinates without the sanction of superiors, and most carefully to leave the laity to be enlightened by the increasing intelligence and piety of those to whose pastoral care, and not to ours, the providence of God has committed them. Even if we should encounter distrust, and opposition, and slander, this ought not to drive us into unchurchmanlike courses; but we should learn to wait upon Him who ruleth over his Universal Church, who wieldeth the hearts of all, and in whose hand are the issues of all things, until he shall open to us opportunities of renewing our efforts upon sound and secure principles.

Furthermore, as we would avoid any conduct which may lead the Christians of those ancient churches into new schisms, so likewise ought those of us who go amongst them to avoid schismatical acts in our own persons. If we go as clergymen, we ought surely to remember that we are ministers of the Catholic Church. And then what is the primitive discipline, applicable to our case, still recognized amongst ourselves? Can one of us consistently with our own discipline enter the diocese of a bishop, in amity with our bishops, and act independently of him? Can we go and collect a congregation within his diocese, and set up a mode of worship to which his sanction has not been sought, and an altar rival to his altar? Surely, if a clergyman of the British church enters a foreign Christian country whose church is in friendship with ours, he should first if possible place himself in communion with its bishop,

and do no act of a clergyman without his sanction and concurrence. And even if long-established usage may justify us in ministering to our fellow-countrymen there independently of him, surely no persuasion of the superiority of our spiritual condition can justify us in attempting to withdraw his flock from his communion for the purpose of attaching them to ours.

Again, we all know that the clergy of non-episcopal churches are not permitted to officiate conjointly with us, and the same discipline prevails all through the East. If, therefore, any missionaries of such communions should be found in those countries, prudence, to say the least, would require that we should abstain from recognizing them as clergymen, by admitting them to share divine offices with us. For if we act otherwise, we contravene all primitive discipline as well as our own; we give to those persons, as far as lies in our power, influence which they will and must use to generate schisms; we prejudice the ancient Christians against us, and deprive ourselves, and it may be all other members of our church, of the power of being permanently useful to them.

One more point I will bring forward. In the primitive church, every clergyman was subject to his bishop until by his consent removed to another diocese; and the principle is, as every clergyman knows, daily acted upon in the internal administration of our own church. If a clergyman has to remove to another diocese, his removal has to be

sanctioned by his own bishop, from whom he carries letters testimonial to the bishop whose diocese he enters. Has not the omission of such a practice, primitive and catholic as it is, a tendency to discredit missions from this country? How can we justify ourselves if, as private clergymen, or agents of a society, or by acting in conjunction with a society, we act abroad in disregard of primitive discipline daily recognised at home? At all events, why should we throw away, if it can be obtained, the advantage we should gain with the bishops of other churches, if authorized by our own metropolitan and ordinary, together with the benefit of episcopal control over clergymen abroad as well as at home?

Having pointed out some errors which it appears highly important to avoid, I may perhaps be permitted now to suggest some rules in accordance with primitive maxims, by which our probable intercourse with eastern churches may be so conducted as to prepare the way for the restoration of complete intercommunion between ourselves and them, and their ultimate purification.

First, then, it appears desirable that, for the future, no religious mission, nor any permanent residence of a clergyman of our church should be undertaken without the explicit sanction of the bishop and metropolitan to whom he is subject.

2ndly, That every clergyman so sent abroad should carry letters credential from his own bishop and metropolitan, specifying the objects of his mission

or residence, and requesting the sanction of the metropolitan and bishop of whatever province or diocese he may enter.

3dly, That steps should be taken for the purpose of placing the English congregations abroad in communion with the bishops in whose territories they are locally situated, still on the understanding that they shall use the English liturgy, and be under bishops of the English church.

4thly, That any clergyman who ministers to the English residents should, with consent of their bishops, open his communion to their clergy, desire their assistance in baptisms and the like in his own absence, and in every thing endeavour to make it appear that they are members and ministers of one Church Catholic.

5thly, That where a clergyman is sent merely to collect information, and to establish friendly relations between ourselves and them, he should offer himself to their communion, be ready to minister in their churches and according to their rites, so far as he innocently can, and perform no act of the sacred ministry without their concurrence.

6thly, That if he should be sent with a view to a permanent residence, in order to assist them and promote their welfare, he should likewise, with the consent and advice of his own original superiors, place himself frankly and entirely under the metropolitan and bishop of the place in which he has fixed his abode, make himself, if permitted, one of

his clergy, identify himself as much as possible with them, adopt their habits and customs so far as he lawfully can, and wait for and discreetly avail himself of those opportunities of enlightening and preparing their minds which divine Providence will be sure sooner or later to open to him.

Lastly, That if it should be his lot to witness a desire on the part of any of the members of those churches for the removal of errors and abuses, whilst he thankfully cherishes such a desire, he should not only not lend himself too hastily to the accomplishment of such a reformation, but restrain and hold back the eagerness of others, until it can be done in all main respects after the pattern of the English Reformation; that is, by the common authority of the chief pastors of the church, with the concurrence of the civil power where it is Christian, after the model of primitive usage, and in that safe and gradual manner which shall carry all hearts along with it.

By proceeding in this spirit we may hope, by the blessing of the great Head of the church, gradually to restore the complete union and communion which formerly subsisted between the various branches of the catholic church, and to promote we know not what blessed ends of the all-pervading Spirit in the purification of them all; whilst, if we act merely according to our own judgment, without reference to primitive maxims, we, or those who come after us, may have to deplore that we have deepened

existing jealousies, or sown the seeds of schisms and divisions of which none may see the termination.

These are cautions and rules suggested by meditation upon primitive usage and the actual condition of the eastern churches as well as our own; but it is impossible to apply them now for the first time to our intercourse with them, the more especially as a missionary society, composed of bishops, clergy, and laymen of our church,—I mean, the *Church Missionary Society*,—has long had a mission in the Mediterranean. But as a new mission has now commenced its operations under the auspices of a society more closely connected with the church *as a body*, and more perfectly representing it; and as the history of the former mission will be found to illustrate what has been already said, both by a formal recognition of some of these principles and by acting in contravention of some, I think it will be useful to enter into a short review of its proceedings. We shall thus be enabled to gain practical light from the exertions of a body of men whose zeal, piety, activity, and disinterestedness, no one acquainted with them will be disposed to call in question, however he may be constrained to differ from them, whether in principle or in detail.

In the year 1815[1], this society appointed an English clergyman, named Jowett, as their agent in the Mediterranean; and I think that it must be

[1] Advertisement to Jowett's *Christian Researches*.

frankly confessed that, considering the wide ground they embraced, and that they had not the advantage of being under the patronage of the church authorities, their plans were judicious, their agent admirably qualified for his post, and the spirit of their instructions to him highly commendable in the main. In particular, it is impossible to read Mr. Jowett's earlier communications with the society without being struck with the excellent temper and sound judgment they exhibit. We shall have occasion to refer to them hereafter.

His attention was directed to three classes of persons; the eastern Christians, the Mahometans, and the Jews. His objects with regard to the former were to take all opportunities of establishing friendly relations with them, to learn their language, to obtain the education of youth, to circulate the Scriptures, and to procure and distribute religious tracts suited to promote practical piety amongst them.

He first went to Malta; but[1] finding that he could not obtain a good modern Greek master there, he proceeded to Corfu. From thence he returned to Malta; and was there engaged with Dr. Naudi, another agent of the Church Missionary Society, in the preparation of tracts, and versions of the Scriptures. In the beginning of 1818, he was joined by Mr. Connor[2], another clergyman, whom he left behind,

[1] Missionary Register for 1817, p. 88.

[2] Ibid. for 1818, p. 74.

and made a voyage to Smyrna; where he came into communication with Mr. Williamson[1], the British chaplain at Smyrna, who was pursuing much the same plans as himself, independently of any society. On this journey he was received in the most friendly manner by various Greek bishops, and particularly by the Bishop of Smyrna. On his return he visited Haivali (Cydoniæ) and Scio, then the principal seats of Greek literature; and it is worth remarking, that he found regular lectures of divinity and ecclesiastical history given there[2]. But the whole of these establishments were broken up in the war of Greek independence, and desolated by the Turks. He returned to Malta; and towards the end of the year proceeded by Smyrna to Alexandria[3], where he opened a friendly communication with the Coptic patriarch, visited the Coptic churches in Upper Egypt, and, by the assistance of Pearce, the Abyssinian traveller, took the first steps towards Abyssinian versions of the Scriptures. Meanwhile, the Syrian Roman Catholic archbishop of Jerusalem had visited England, where the Church Missionary Society had given him a very friendly reception, and entered heartily into his views for the enlightenment of his people. Mr. Jowett's associate, Mr. Connor, had likewise visited Constantinople[4], where he hoped to

[1] Missionary Register for 1818, p. 338, seq.

[2] Ibid. p. 385. [3] Ibid. for 1819, p. 365.

[4] Appendix to Jowett's *Christian Researches*.

procure the co-operation of the various heads of the eastern churches, and learn modern Greek. He afterwards visited Rhodes, Cyprus, Crete, and the Holy Land, circulating the Scriptures, and being received in the most hospitable manner by the archbishops and bishops of the Greek, Armenian, Syrian, and Latin churches. Whilst he was in those parts there arrived two agents of the American Board of Missions, supported by all the American Calvinistic communities [1].

Mr. Jowett was in Malta again in November 1819. Next year he made a voyage to Alexandria, to bring home an Amharic (Abyssinian) version of the Scriptures, made by M. Asselin, the French consul [2].

Mr. Jowett having returned to Malta, and Mr. Connor to Constantinople, the two appear to have devoted themselves chiefly to the idea of circulating the Scriptures in the eastern churches, and accordingly Mr. Connor betook himself to a revision of a version into modern Greek, executed by Hilarion, a Greek abbot [3]. And from the Bible Society's reports we learn that in 1820, the Greek patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, and the Armenian patriarch resident at Constantinople, were actively supporting the circulation of the Scriptures. To this was joined tracts, chiefly compiled from the writings

[1] Missionary Register for 1820, p. 349.

[2] Ibid. p. 208.

[3] Ibid. 1821, p. 34.

of the early fathers, which the American missionaries assisted in disseminating, visiting the schools very actively for this purpose [1].

In the year 1823, Mr. Jowett undertook a voyage to Syria, and visited Palestine. On this occasion he united himself in the most intimate manner with the American dissenting missionary, Mr. Fisk, being accompanied by him everywhere, and taking part with him in joint religious services, both public and private [2]. Here we find the first symptoms of opposition on the part of the Roman Christians to the circulation of the Scriptures [3]. It was, however, only passive; and he was in general received by them as a traveller with every mark of hospitality.

Towards the end of the year 1824, the Church Missionary Society sent out another agent, the Rev. John Hartley. In 1826, he travelled through Greece and Asia Minor, received in the most cordial manner by the Greek bishops and clergy, preaching occasionally in the churches, and with caution even holding discussions with them on the differences between them and ourselves [4]. In his instance we meet with strong opposition on the part of the

[1] Missionary Register for 1821, p. 202.

[2] See his Journal in *Christian Researches in Syria*, pp. 66, 69, 70, &c. This association was afterwards, as we learn from Wilson's Narrative of the Greek Mission, extended to English dissenters.

[3] Ibid. p. 159.

[4] See his *Researches in Greece and the Levant.*

Roman bishops and clergy to the circulation of the Scriptures[1], and a jealousy of the Turkish emperor of the intercourse of the Greek Christians with Europeans, exhibited in an order issued by him to the patriarch of Constantinople[2]. Mr. Hartley first began the habit of attempting to influence Greek laymen, both by private conversation and by lectures for their benefit[3]; and here we first meet with opposition on the part of Greek bishops to intercourse with English clergymen[4]. He likewise associated with American missionaries; set up for a time a public modern Greek service at Smyrna[5], and showed a tendency to dissuade pious Greeks from communicating in their own church, on the ground of its idolatrous worship of pictures[6].

In 1825, the Church Missionary press came into full operation. We now no longer hear of tracts from the Fathers, but Milner's Church History, Baxter's Call, the Dairyman's Daughter, the Life and Death of the Rev. Pliny Fisk, (the American missionary,) Hale's Rules, and Original Stories, Dialogues, Meditations, Discourses[7], &c.

In 1826, we find a body of Germans[8] in the employ of the Church Missionary Society, with a M. Gobat, a Genevese, proceeding by way of Syria to

[1] Missionary Register for 1826, p. 390. [2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid. 1827, p. 172, seq. [4] Ibid. p. 177.
[5] Church Missionary Report for 1827-8, p. 58. [6] Ibid. p. 60.
[7] See Church Missionary Report, 1827-8, p. 57.
[8] Ibid. pp. 56. 61, 62.

Egypt. Whilst in Syria they frequently met with the American missionaries for the purpose of consultation and prayer; and they inform us that Arabs, Greeks, and Roman Catholics were excommunicated if they happened to speak with the missionaries or to visit them[1]. Two of these, M. Gobat and M. Kugler, were destined for the Abyssinian mission. They employed themselves in Egypt in distributing Bibles and tracts, and in establishing and superintending schools[2].

The society's agents in all parts of the Mediterranean were now mostly Germans. In 1828, they took charge of a school at Syra, established by an American missionary[3]. This they carried on and augmented under the express sanction of the Greek government, who placed two of the government schools under the care of their agent, Dr. Korck. But in 1830, through the instigation of the clergy, it was proposed to set up a picture of Christ in the schools, and to introduce a catechism containing the errors of the Greek church, and a collection of prayers, containing a blasphemous invocation of the Virgin. On his resistance, the schools were taken from him[4].

In 1829, we find Mr. Lieder, &c. still in Egypt as agents of the Church Missionary Society. Mr.

[1] See Church Missionary Report, 1827-8, p. 65.

[2] Ibid. pp. 63—65. [3] Church Missionary Record, 1831, p. 45.

[4] Ibid. pp. 46—49.

Lieder employed himself in distributing the Scriptures, and discussion upon practical and controversial points. Here again we find strong opposition on the part of the Greek priesthood, headed by their patriarch, whom he stigmatizes as unbelieving; and attempts made by an influential Roman Catholic to induce the pacha to expel the English missionaries from Egypt. Mr. L., "in order to gain the more influence and an easier access to families, devoted himself to the study of medicine[1]."

The same year, Messrs. Gobat and Kugler went to Abyssinia. They were very well received by all parties, and hospitably entertained by the civil authorities, during the whole of their residence. We soon find M. Kugler teaching with great earnestness that baptism is not regeneration[2]; and M. Gobat discussing confession and the worship of the saints with the general of the Abyssinian monasteries, who, in the vacancy of the episcopal see, was the principal ecclesiastic[3].

The missionaries continued to pursue their own studies, and to assist those of two natives, without any remarkable occurrence, beyond the death of M. Kugler, until 1836, when they thought proper to marry two Abyssinians of their household, according to the rites of the English church, and contemplated having the communion service in Amharic, that any Abyssinian who wished it might unite with them.

[1] Church Missionary Record for 1831, p. 64.

[2] Ibid. p. 127.

[3] Ibid. p. 56.

These proceedings excited great jealousy on the part of the native clergy; but the missionaries were protected by the civil governor. Their non-observance of the fasts and church holidays appears likewise to have given great umbrage [1].

In 1831, modern Greek schools were set up at Smyrna, and the agent there, in connexion with the agent of the Bible Society, a layman, opened a meeting to the Greeks, in which, twice a week, the Scriptures were read and expounded to them. These schools went on very prosperously, with the sanction of the neighbouring bishops, until 1836, when, under the name of American schools, they were all put down by the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople. Attempts were at the same time made against the Church Missionary Society's schools at Syra, which, after Dr. Korck's removal, were conducted by M. Hildner, and which had hitherto received the warm patronage of the new Greek government. When the schools at Smyrna were suspended, the missionaries took to a tour into the interior. In their journals they record several conversations in which they spoke to the Greeks against their clergy [2].

If my object was to give a history of the operations of the Church Missionary Society for general purposes, there is much which I should be sorry to omit; but as my object is particular, I am necessa-

[1] Church Missionary Record for 1838, p. 11.

[2] Ibid. p. 72.

rily more confined. I mention this, because I fear there will be matter, not only of omission, but also of objection, in which I shall be compelled, by the view to which my principles lead me, to say what will be painful to myself in regard to a society, many of the members of which I esteem and respect more than I can express. But having been led by members of the society to examine into its operations, and having become aware that some of its leading defects had been remedied, I was concerned to find that in some quarters its agents were still far from acting in the spirit of churchmen; and still more, when a more extended inquiry taught me that, except where *directly* controlled by English bishops, it had, as it appeared to me, gradually departed more and more, not only from sound church principles, but also from the spirit of its earlier operations. To what circumstances this is to be traced, whether to a falling away from earlier views on the part of the managing body of the society, or to the employment of a different class of agents, is certainly well worthy the consideration of those numerous sound-hearted men who continue to support it[1]. But my present object is not to censure the Church Missionary Society, but to gain confirmation to the views I have put forward; first, by its own testimony to those views; and secondly,

[1] Since this was written, there is reason to think that the representations of some of these sound-hearted men have had a happy influence on the councils of the Society.

by tracing the evil consequences of its departures from them.

It will be recollected that I set out by expressing my conviction that it would be inexpedient to assume a superiority, even upon points in which we were undeniably above the eastern Christians. Mr. Jowett has expressed himself entirely to the same effect, in p. 357 of his *Christian Researches in the Mediterranean*, as follows :—

"In our approach to the Christian churches adjacent to the Mediterranean, a principle of obtaining influence by kindness and persuasion becomes our circumstances. The united church of this country neither possesses nor assumes any ecclesiastical jurisdiction nor authority in those regions; she impugns not the rank and the validity of the different functions exercised by the bishops, priests, and deacons in those churches. The corruptions of their faith, the abuses of their discipline, the superstitions of their worship, vest us with no prerogative over them. . . . . Destitute, therefore, of all pretension or power, beyond that of Christian love, it is in this spirit alone that we can go forth to these churches."

So, again, as to the impolicy of assuming the attitude of instructors, p. 352 :—

"It is not the first or the principal work of the missionary to undo error."

And in his *Sermon before the Church Missionary Society*, at their anniversary in 1821, p. 24 :—

"Another impediment to the Romish missions in Mahommedan countries arose from their unceasing spirit of contention with the native Christian churches. . . . . We shall not thus address our brethren of the eastern churches. *We* were not the

first to embrace and pay honour to the Christian revelation. To *them* we owe the rudiments of our Christian education; we caught the living coal from their altars. When, therefore, the missionary's soul shall have been poured forth in large measure by the Holy Spirit of God upon our national church, *their* prelates and clergy will be hailed by ours—their friendship will be cultivated."

Kindred sentiments are expressed by Mr. Hartley, in his *Researches in Greece and the Levant*:—

"A kind and conciliatory address never failed to win its way. At first I erred in my mode of operations. I went out under the influence of the idea, that sound argument would soon convince of error; and hence I used to proceed, almost on first acquaintance, to confute the errors of the Greek church. . . . . Discovering my mistake, I proceeded for the future upon a different plan. I considered that my first object with every person was to secure, as much as possible, his friendly feelings."

So again, p. 271, in regard to the perpetual virginity of the Virgin, which he considered an error:—

"Past intercourse with Greeks had already taught me the inexpediency and inutility of contending hastily on this subject. . . . . A missionary will find it better to direct their attention to more important subjects, than hastily to shock their feelings on a point of minor importance."

These testimonies are so much the more valuable as they arose directly from experience.

I have expressed my opinion above, that we should be cautious of pressing our liturgy upon them. Mr. Jowett has expressed the same idea in his *Researches in the Mediterranean*, p. 353:—

"To conduct our intercourse by obtruding even those creeds or forms which *we* most cordially approve, would be far from

pacific. . . . . With those who claim to have interpreted Scripture better than ourselves, let us quit awhile the comment for the text; and whenever we exhibit our formularies as a pattern and model of a reformed (or, to speak in a more catholic spirit, of a *pure* Christian) church, let us first be well assured that we are treating with those who have candidly studied from Scripture the genuine nature of Christianity."

He puts upon the ground of policy what I would consider as a matter of principle.

Another point I have laid considerable stress upon is, that we should address ourselves to the heads of the Eastern Churches, and that whatever is done should be with the sanction of our own bishops. Mr. Jowett does not express himself precisely as I should have done; yet he confirms my principle, as for instance, *Christian Researches in the Mediterranean*, p. 335:—

"Without intending to exclude the intercourse of churches, through the medium of persons of humbler character, it seems manifestly the duty of the higher ecclesiastics to conduct such correspondence;" and p. 341:—

"Were a clergyman, charged by the highest ecclesiastical authorities of our church, to visit the dignitaries of the Greek church," &c.; and p. 358:—

"How, in correspondence with the depressed churches of the Levant, may the dignitaries of the western churches accost, rank for rank, those whose humbled circumstances and injured spirits seem to place them so far below the level of their eminent and sacred function," &c.

Mr. Jowett again shows some perception of the danger we may be in of producing that temper of mind which generates schisms, thus, p. 352:—

"In encountering their errors, and endeavouring to loosen the hold which corrupt opinions or usages have upon their minds, there is always a danger of undoing too much, and of shaking those truths which ought to remain. There is a risk lest a readiness for change and levity of temper should lead them either to outrun the convictions of the mind, or even to trifle with the restraints of conscience."

These are specimens and indications that both Mr. Jowett and Mr. Hartley, so far as could be expected from the agents of a society which gives the bishops of its own church no power over its management *as such*, confirm the principles I have advocated. But this is done still more decidedly by the evil result of their departures from the spirit and temper in which the missions were undertaken, and those measures which their original false views of church order and discipline involved them in.

There was all along a practice carried on, which I cannot but regard as injudicious, to say the least; —I mean that of holding private meetings for instruction and prayer, to which members of other churches were invited. If the missionaries had been simple laymen, resident in Malta or Smyrna for secular purposes, and had occasionally invited a neighbour to join in their ordinary family worship, the case would have been very different. But they were clergymen, who, as such, had no vocation whatever in the places in which they stationed themselves; and yet they undertake the instruction of the flocks of other clergymen, by methods which even in their own country are regarded as of doubt-

ful expediency by many of their superiors in the church. They might have been aware that this practice alone must in the nature of things awaken the jealousy of those whose flocks they thus collected together apart from the church of which they were members. I say nothing of the tendency it would have to make them dissatisfied with their own clergy; but surely, considering that these missionaries, thus without episcopal superintendence, *could* not create a reformed Greek church, it ought to have been considered what might be the ultimate evil, as well as good, of arousing a spirit of dissatisfaction in the laity.

From the short periods, however, of residence in any one place out of Malta, the practice does not appear to have attracted much attention until Mr. Hartley's residence at Constantinople. It is true that, soon after the arrival of the American missionaries, the members of the Roman communion in the east began to show jealousy of the English missionaries; but that may be accounted for by the ordinary policy of Rome, in discouraging the dissemination of the vernacular Scriptures, which the missionaries made one of their special works. The opposition of the Turkish government likewise was, no doubt, the general aversion to every kind of intercourse with Englishmen during the Greek war; and the Greek patriarch could do no other than forward and enforce the imperial firman, when his very life hung by a thread upon the mere will of

him who issued it. These instances, therefore, may be left out of consideration. But the first decided opposition of individual Greek bishops occurred at Constantinople, during Mr. Hartley's residence there. He made a practice, it seems, of encouraging persons, especially young men, to come to him for private conversation and instruction. This continued, it appears, for some time without interruption; but at length we find two of them forbidden by their bishop to resort to him. And no wonder. He was collecting a flock out of the flocks of the Greek clergy, and he absolutely declined to be present at the prayers of the Greek church. He was taking to himself by his own sole authority, or by that of an unauthorized society of Englishmen, to interfere on ground which belonged to others. We need go no further. So long as he appeared as a mere visitor or traveller, or distributor of the Scriptures, he was welcomed by the Greek bishops and clergy; for in so doing he was interfering with no one's charge. But when he overstepped this limit, can it be wondered at that jealousy was excited?

But he showed in several other instances that he had not true church principles. We find him actually setting up public worship in modern Greek at Smyrna. There cannot of course be any doubt for whom this was intended. This then was a further step. It was an actual taking upon himself the *public* office of a clergyman in regard to flocks never committed to him, but directly committed to others.

It was a *public* invitation to the members of the Greek church to unite with him. Happily this was his own sole act, unauthorized by the bishops to whom he was canonically subject: for it must be always remembered that a bishop, *as such*, has no function in the Church Missionary Society.

But this is not all. The church missionaries all along associated on the most intimate terms with the dissenting missionaries from America and England; they met with them at stated times for joint prayer and mutual conference; *they admitted the American missionaries to pray and to preach alternately with them in the public assemblies* of Europeans in Asia Minor. What would be thought in this country of clergymen of the Church of England who should hold public worship conjointly with dissenting teachers? It is a thing no one would think of. And how great then must be the madness of proclaiming to the clergy of churches universally attached to episcopacy and liturgies, that English clergymen regarded episcopal ordination as a mere unimportant difference of opinion, and the rejection of liturgies a trifle! And all this when they carefully abstained from the Greek communion on the ground of the real or supposed idolatry of those who participated in it!

But Mr. Hartley went further than this. He actually remonstrated with one of his converts upon the impropriety of an enlightened person joining in the Greek communion at all, evidently wishing him to join ours. The young man's notions for once

were more correct than those of his teacher. He thought he might *communicate* without joining in the *idolatry* of others; and he even persuaded his enlightener to think it *might perhaps* be done without sin. But what shall we think of a clergyman of our church who could commit an act so directly schismatical? How little could Mr. Hartley have reflected in what manner the Church of England was reformed, and how great a share of the divisions of our church is to be ascribed to the prevalence of notions like his amongst some of those who would have been its reformers!

These were the practices of an English clergyman, educated at the university of Oxford, and possessing some reverence for these eastern churches, and for Christian antiquity, with a considerable degree of tact and judgment, and much kindly and amiable feeling: can we then wonder that, when the work was committed to German Lutherans and Swiss Calvinists, it should be conducted with at least equal disregard of sound principle? The American missionaries were still their dear brethren, and the Greek priests aliens and unbelievers, from whose baleful influence they were to endeavour to gather out a remnant for Christ. This was the feeling with which they entered Egypt, where they prosecuted their work indefatigably, gathering companies of people to instruct, insinuating themselves into private houses, taking up the practice of medicine for the readier attainment of their end. Is it wonder-

ful that the native clergy should regard them with aversion?

The same spirit was carried into Abyssinia. The object was, not to reform that church, but to raise a purer out of it. Accordingly, one is not surprised to find one of M. Gobat's converts showing his zeal by stigmatizing the Abyssinian churches as *temples of idols*, and that gentleman himself contemplating the translation of our communion service into Amharic, in order to invite those to communicate with him who wished to have *spiritual communion with Christ.* The necessary result was, that the native clergy were up in arms against him, and he had to rely for protection upon the civil government. And is not this a lamentable state of things to those of us who looked with fraternal interest to those ancient churches, and hoped, from the prudent and kindly feeling shown by the society's earliest missionary at the commencement of his career, and the tone of veneration with which he spoke of those churches, that a friendly intercourse might be opened, which might end in the gradual enlightenment of their ignorance, the removal of their corruptions, and the restoration of Christian intercommunion over a large portion of the Catholic church!

The latest intelligence from Abyssinia is, that the missionaries have been expelled from that country through the machinations of a priest and lay member of the Roman church, their friends feeling unable any longer to protect them.

But we are not yet come to the worst. The society has been induced by circumstances to engage in the maintenance of schools at Syra, Smyrna, and in Egypt. But here again, by some unaccountable fatality, they have been placed in opposition to the Greek clergy; not from any fault in the management, but from the radical fault of taking English institutions in the mass into an unprepared soil, and of beginning the work of enlightenment with the laity. They had in the first instance the concurrence of the Greek bishops and clergy in Asia Minor; but they lost it, when it was seen that their aim was proselytism, the setting up an *imperium in imperio*, and that they intended to keep the schools entirely in their own hands. It is very true that they could not conscientiously concur in some of the things proposed to them: but, if their general conduct had been prudent,—if there had been no "Bible class meetings," nor that intimate intercourse with the American missionaries, it is most probable that these things would not have been required. These remarks apply chiefly to Smyrna; but similar observations are applicable everywhere. The schools are now suppressed; but happily it is as *American schools:* the English church, providentially, is not entirely compromised. But, without a peculiar goodness of God, it must be before long. For upon the breaking up of the schools at Smyrna, the conductors of them have been travelling in the interior; and it is grievous to learn that they have so far departed from the

earlier principles of the society as to be found *stirring up the minds of the laity against their clergy.* It may be true that the priesthood are ignorant, are indolent, are prejudiced, are opposed to improvement; but surely ordinary understanding might have shown that such a line of conduct could not tend to improve them, or to render them less hostile: and, leaving out the consideration of intrusion into another man's fold, surely we cannot imagine that we shall be able to enlighten and reform those churches *from without*, in opposition to the clergy of them, and all the old prejudices of the people? We can do nothing more than produce such an unhappy state of things as prevails in France and Germany; and shall the English church be so far regardless of her high pre-eminence as to wish to bring the eastern churches into such a state of lamentable and almost hopeless schism?

This whole train of proceeding is the more remarkable from its contrariety to that followed up by the same society during the same period in regard to the Syrian church in India. Its connexion with that church commenced about the same time with its first operations in the Mediterranean. Major, afterwards Colonel, Munro, English resident at Travancore, had conceived the idea of founding a college for the education of the clergy and laity of that church [1], and of conducting it in strict union with

[1] Missionary Register, 1816, p. 37.

the heads of it. He invited the Church Missionary Society to unite with him by stationing one or more of their clergy near the college; and they acceded to his wishes. Providentially, a schism which prevailed in the Syrian church was healed at that particular time, and the bishop was favourable to the undertaking. His successor was still more entirely with them. The spirit in which they acted will be most evident from a few extracts from the Missionary Register, 1820, p. 487:—

"We think they (the Syrian clergy) will be more delighted with the constitution of the English church the better they are acquainted with it. . . . Not that we wish to impose any of our ceremonies upon them; much less to identify them with the English church; but a model is necessary for them in their attempts at reformation," &c.

Again:—

"The committee have conveyed to the missionaries their decided judgment, that the Syrians should be brought back to their own ancient and primitive worship and discipline, rather than be induced to adopt the liturgy and discipline of the English church; and that, *should any considerations induce them to wish such a measure, it would be highly expedient to dissuade them from adopting it*—both for the preservation of their individuality and entireness, and greater consequent weight and usefulness as a church; and to prevent those jealousies and heart-burnings which would in all probability hereafter arise."

What words of wisdom are these! Would that all the society's operations had been conducted in this spirit.

In 1820, the mission and college were visited by

the Rev. James Hough, one of the East India Company's chaplains. He found the worship carried on in the college chapel, which college the missionaries aid to support, with "incense, the adoration of the host, frequent crossings and prostrations before the crucifix," and in the Syriac language, unintelligible to the common people. And he remarks in regard to the missionaries[1]:—

"Greatly as it must pain them to witness so much superstition and unmeaning ceremony amongst this interesting people, they have, as yet, with great wisdom and delicacy, refrained from interfering in the slightest particular on sacred matters. They are respected so highly by the metropolitan and catanars, (bishop and priests,) that were they to express their wish to have a part of the Syriac prayers translated into Malayalim, I have no doubt but that it would be done. But they are too prudent to act with precipitation, or to take upon themselves the responsibility of so important a step. At present they are expending their time and strength in preparing the people's minds for the reception of truth; content to show them the light by degrees, as they appear ready to receive it."

A military officer, Major Mackworth, who visited them in 1821, bears the same testimony to their spirit and plan[2], and remarks "the great deference and respect" with which the missionaries treated the bishop; and with regard to the malpan, or head of the Syrian college, who was somewhat of an anti-reformer, that, "as they never even suggest any im-

[1] Missionary Register, 1822, p. 427.
[2] Ibid. 1823, p. 154.

provements without consulting him, nor adopt any without his concurrence, they are sure of never doing too much, or of advancing beyond the present light and knowledge which the Syrians possess."

And what were the results of this patient and prudent conduct? Four main improvements were effected at that time "without any dislike having been openly manifested[1]:"—

"1. The marriage of the clergy.
"2. The removal of all images from the churches.
"3. The reading of a portion of the scriptures, every Sunday, in Malayalim.
"4. The opening of schools, attached to most of the churches."

In addition to this, Major Mackworth mentions a general enlightenment of the clergy and people, and amendment of their habits.

The testimony of Principal Mill, of Bishop's College, Calcutta, in 1822, is precisely to the same effect[2]: and one should have thought that *experience* such as this, even if sound *principles* had been wanting, would have not only made this line of conduct permanent at Cotym, but have introduced it every where else. It is not my business to give a history of this mission. I pass over twelve years, and find one of the society's *then* missionaries *pressing* upon a

[1] Missionary Register, 1823, p. 155.
[2] Ibid. 1823, p. 398.

reluctant priest the necessity of reformation [1], and remarking, that "if ever there is a reformation here, it will begin among the laity, and not among the priests." Connected with this we find the missionaries themselves more active in *preaching in the Syrian churches*, and yet speaking of the "very strong opposition" they expect to find offered by the priests to a reformation. We find one of them who "could not recommend" a candidate for baptism "to the Syrian church," but "should procure him baptism in our own church." Surely this is quite another spirit from that which wrought the gradual and safe reforms I have specified above.

Two years after [2], we find several "places of worship" open, connected with the missionaries, and a priest under their influence rejecting a communicant for *ignorance;* a "leading man excommunicated by his church for having his child baptized by one of the missionaries;" and the METRAN (i.e., the bishop) sending for the friends of the deacons of the several surrounding churches, and *forbidding them, upon pain of his heavy displeasure, to send the deacons to the college.*" Alas! what a change! And whatever faults there may be on the side of the bishop and priests, yet, when we see so different a spirit on the part of the missionary from that of his predecessors,—an interfering, dictatorial spirit,—apparent in many

[1] Church Missionary Record, 1836, p. 283.
[2] Ibid. 1838, p. 129.

other little things, better felt than expressed, must we not conclude that, if, like his predecessors, he had resolved to wait until the most obstinate Metran should give up his prejudices, with humble prayer and fasting, he would have found himself still able to speak of the gradual reformation of a *united* church, instead of finding himself in a party both of clergy and people, some shutting their churches against him, some opening them, and in total and declared opposition to the bishop?

By what authority can these missionaries have acted? How extraordinary is it that a body of men who could proceed so long upon a right course, *and with such remarkable success*, should fall so entirely into an opposite one! But I fear the governing body must be changed as to its constituent members, else we might have expected that, when opposed by the bishop of the Syrian church, they should at once have rested upon their oars, and declined to take another step until the good providence of God should open their way again, by inclining his heart towards them.

I trust it will appear that I have made out my point; and that the correctness of my principles is confirmed by the Church Missionary Society, both when it upholds them and when it forsakes them; both in the good feeling and gradual ameliorations which followed them when acted on, and the jealousies, and schisms, and opposition which ensued on their abandonment. They are no less confirmed by

those intelligent and able persons,—one of them, Major Mackworth, a warm friend of the Church Missionary Society, who visited the Indo-Syrian church when the early course was still followed.

The catastrophe of the Abyssinian mission is peculiarly deplorable. That Mr. Gobat and his associates should have retired from a field which they were not qualified to cultivate, either by information or by discretion, is not in itself much to be regretted. They were acting like schismatics, and the fruit of their labours could be little else than schism. But how many painful reflections arise when we consider the circumstances of their retirement! That supposed agents and representatives of the church of England should be *expelled* from the territories of an ancient church as common disturbers, so headstrong and indiscreet that their very friends were obliged to give them up, is lamentable indeed. And yet their own accounts have prepared us for it. And one cannot avoid reflecting how different would have been the issue, if the mission had been conducted as that to the Indo-Syrian church was for so many of its earlier years. It is true that the catastrophe has been caused by the machinations of Rome; who, though unable to maintain her old ground in the east, is yet unwearied in disturbing and hindering the operations of purer churches. But what could have directed her eyes to Abyssinia? First of all, probably, the knowledge that that church is at this moment without a head; for its sole bishop is dead,

and the Coptic patriarch of Alexandria, upon whom it has been for generations dependent, has refused as yet to ordain a successor, because,—oh, shame to speak it!—the required fees were not forthcoming. But besides this apparent opening, can we doubt that ever watchful Rome was informed that the Abyssinian priesthood were incensed against the missionaries for their open denunciation of their superstitions, and hoped that they would hail the intervention of those who upheld kindred superstitions? At all events, it is equally afflicting to know, that this hastiness and shortsightedness of well-intentioned men has given Rome's agents a handle against them, which, with better-weighed conduct, they could not have had; and that the English church is now regarded in Abyssinia as an enemy, instead of a friend; and that because men who had no title to minister to Christ's flock, except from her, have acted in a manner diametrically opposed to her principles. Our consolation is, that the church, *as a body*, is guiltless.

The principles I have laid down will, I trust, no less aid us to see what course may warrantably be followed, and with the best prospect of success, in the intercourse which the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has now begun to open.

The society has begun aright by obtaining the sanction and name of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the very commencement of its undertaking. It

will do still better if it can induce his Grace to open a direct correspondence with the highest authorities in the church or churches it may wish to benefit, *and do nothing whatever* of the very least moment *without his sanction*. It will do best of all if it can engage *our Prelates, as a body*, to advise and direct its proceedings.

The society has again done right in laying it down at the very outset that it seeks no control whatever, nor interference of any kind, in the concerns of the churches in whose welfare it interests itself, but that it simply wishes to offer assistance. If it can abide by that principle, whatever it does will be safe, and will be so much gain; and it can recede or withdraw whenever it pleases, with the satisfaction of knowing that it has not overstepped its proper limits, nor departed from its proper vocation.

I trust I may not be deemed presumptuous if I endeavour to point out such further steps as experience and principle both indicate as safe.

In the first place, then, whatever is done in those churches, to be done safely, must begin with the clergy, and emanate from the highest of them. Whatever was well done in the English reformation was so, in as far as this rule was kept to; and the mischiefs and errors which sprung up in the course of it arose from the ideas of the laity having outrun those of their teachers. Our first and foremost object, therefore, must be the enlightenment and right dis-

position of the bishops and clergy of those churches. These will consist primarily of the existing body; and, secondarily, of those who are gradually brought in to fill the vacancies formed in it by death. If we begin with enlightening the laity, we shall, in course of time, place the people and their appointed instructors in hostile collision, and probably bring about a revolution like our great rebellion. If we go a step higher, and limit ourselves to instructing the candidates for holy orders, we shall array the junior portion of the clergy against the senior, and produce all the mischiefs which at present distract the Indo-Syrian church. But if we can begin with the present race of the clergy, and avail ourselves of the fondness for reading which (at least in the Greek and Armenian churches) indisputably prevails, we shall stand upon much higher and more secure ground than even that of the English reformation.

How then can we begin with them, and that upon sure ground? We know that there is already a great disposition to read the Holy Scriptures. That disposition should be cherished by providing them with copies of the Scriptures.

That appears, however, to have been done to a very great extent by the Bible Society, and is now taken up by the Foreign Translation Committee of the Christian Knowledge Society, in such a manner as leaves nothing for me to say. But then there is the interpretation and application of them, both doctrinal and practical; and I know not how we

can serve them to any enduring purpose without going to the Fathers. The whole works of the genuine apostolical fathers, and selections from those of the later date, placed before them in such a form, language, and price, as would insure their making use of them, together with catenas of the fathers for interpretation [1], these would be an offering worthy of the English church, and would put them in a condition to originate reforms in their own upon the self-same principles upon which, in the main, ours was conducted. It must be evident that any considerable apparatus of commentary upon the early writers would not be desirable. It would be of slight use, even to the mass of our clergy; and to publish Fathers with it only prevents them from getting into circulation; and to a less instructed, and less inquiring and accurate body of men, it would be still less welcome. But editions for their use, similar to those now publishing by the editors of "The Library of the Fathers," would surely be acceptable; and, if acceptable, could not fail of producing the most favourable results. They would come to them with the very highest authority, next to the sacred Scriptures—an authority they are already prepared to revere. They would find their

[1] It is true that there is a great deal of erroneous allegorical interpretation in the fathers; but it is rarely of a mischievous character, either doctrinally or practically, and those of them who deal extravagantly in it might be avoided.

errors corrected by that very authority; they would be brought back to higher and more spiritual views of religion; they would be obtaining stores of religious knowledge now unattainable. Can we doubt that this would lead to higher general attainments, to a higher standard of conduct, and to a wish in their own minds for those very reforms of doctrine and worship which we are anxious to see? Would not this spirit spread from them to the laity, as it ought to do? There would, of course, be prejudiced persons who might offer resistance; but they would be far less powerful when there was no direct assault upon them from without—when reforms were not forced upon them from below—when improved opinions grew up by degrees all around them in their old associates, in their superiors, in the young clergy, as they successively came on the stage. There would not be a tangible body, to be directly and openly thwarted, like a company of Western missionaries. There would be no definite line of demarcation between the old school and the new. A revolution would take place as peaceful and as gradual as that which has taken place amongst ourselves within the last fifty years. As it went on, there would probably be an increase of communication between ourselves and them; and they would probably awaken to the value of those *practical* points in which we excel them—and, so far as circumstances admit, imitate them. Thus there would grow up a holy rivalry,

beneficial to both churches, by raising the standard of piety and usefulness in each.

But to produce these effects it is absolutely necessary that the whole business should be conducted in constant co-operation with the patriarchs and synods of the Greek churches, taking no step without them, resolutely stopping where they wish to stop, and being in readiness to go on again when they are prepared to move—taking the humble station of auxiliaries to them. The perfect and unalloyed success of the church missionaries in India, so long as they pursued this course, is a full justification and a sure warrant for such a plan of proceeding. The progress may occasionally be delayed by the obstinacy or the intelligent prudence of some Greek prelate; but it will be the surer, and therefore the more satisfactory. And there will be no one for them to be jealous of, for they will have done everything themselves.

This will be our course for the present generation of clergy. But we can do something for them permanent and enduring, by assisting to train their candidates for holy orders, and possibly the higher orders of their laity. There are two plans which are open to us—either to found exhibitions for them in our own universities, or to assist in constituting a college, or colleges, amongst themselves.

To the first there are several strong objections. The expense for each individual would be greater, and he would, by living in this country, acquire habits

inconsistent with his comfort when he returned to his own. There would be a jealousy of him on his return, as being infected with Lutheran or Calvinist errors. This was strikingly exemplified in the case of Cyril Lucar, the Archbishop of Constantinople, already mentioned. He, as is well known, resided for a good while in protestant countries; and it was chiefly the jealousy of him as a suspected Calvinist which enabled his enemies finally to triumph in his destruction. And after the proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, it is scarcely possible that we should not be viewed with suspicion, until a change of conduct proves that we may be trusted [1]. The case would, of course, be still worse if any of the young men sent to this country should really become tainted, as they very easily might, with unprimitive and anti-catholic notions. Lastly, these young men would probably return from us English churchmen with the theory of our church in their minds, without a proper consideration of the difference of circumstances in a stationary and in a highly-advanced community, bent upon reforming their own church after our model, (and thus, it is to be feared, constituting themselves a party in their church,) introducing wholesale improvements before the public mind was prepared for them, and before they were themselves sufficiently numerous or influential to

[1] It is with great regret that I thus speak of this Society, but truth requires it.

carry forward the wished-for measures. For these reasons, it does not appear desirable to bring them to this country for education.

On the other hand, for the formation of a college amongst themselves, there is much to be said. First, there is the precedent of the Syrian college at Cotym, in the East Indies, which answered admirably as long as it was conducted on sound principles. Secondly, by placing it amongst themselves, especially if we put it frankly and fully under the control of the patriarchs of the churches, with certain conditions, to preserve the funds from misapplication, we shall gain their confidence at once, and their gratitude. When I speak of their control, I mean, of course, that the managers of the college shall give them, *ex officio*, a veto upon all their plans; but not that they shall consent to carry into effect all *their* wishes, which might commit us to the support of gross error. Thirdly, such a college might, after a time, be made to pay a considerable portion of its expenses, especially if it were opened to the laity. Fourthly, by having it on the spot, it may be modelled according to existing circumstances for the present, with provision for adapting itself to any changes or improvements in the Eastern churches. Fifthly, their ecclesiastics and laymen may be made to work its machinery, and thus both imbibe a better spirit themselves, and make it tell with more effect upon their church at large. Lastly, it may in this way be made a permanent institution, destined to

perform the same high duties for the church for whose use it was founded, which our own inestimable Universities have for ages performed towards our own.

And perhaps in such an institution the foundations may best be laid for that most important work, a reformation of their liturgies. It is well known that the modern Roman breviary was used in monastic chapels long before it was introduced into parish churches. And why may not the consent of the Eastern patriarchs be given to special books of devotion in the chapel attached to the proposed college? The great benefit proposed to be conferred may procure consent to what may be done there in comparative privacy, especially if it were put on the ground of concession to the opinions or prejudices of their English benefactors. It is well known to those who have examined them that, in the communion service in particular, there is an ample sufficiency of unexceptionable matter; and that with regard to the Greek liturgies, the parts most exceptionable are, as I have already stated, those which the deacon is repeating in the body of the church, whilst the priest is consecrating in secret within the close screen of the chancel. Prejudice would perhaps be less strongly felt against removing the close pannels from the screen in such a chapel, destined chiefly for candidates for the priesthood, and allowing the priest's voice to be heard. Thus two evils would at once be got rid of: first, the idolatrous prayers

repeated by the deacon; and, secondly, the idolatrous pictures upon the pannels in question. In such a chapel, if concessions to this amount were made, we should not feel it an insuperable objection that the prayers were still in the ancient language, because the congregation of such a place would be supposed to be more or less proficients in it; just as Latin prayers have been partially kept up at Christ Church in Oxford, down to our own days.

But this is an anticipation. What we *can* see is, that, if such a college could be founded, in which a thoroughly sound-principled, well-informed, clergyman of the English church, with a good fund of Christian prudence and temper, should hold an important and necessary place, it might be made the means, under Divine Providence, of drawing the bonds of union closer between us, and laying the foundation of improvements amongst them, safe, so far as they go, and of the extent of which we can see no limits. But then it must be undertaken and set on foot by the joint counsels and sanction of the heads of the church both here and there. Sound policy requires it; and true Christian principles forbid us to expect the blessing of the Divine Head of all churches whilst we neglect and set aside the proper office of his earthly representatives.

My observations have been hitherto directed to the proper steps to be taken for the improvement of the Eastern churches generally. But it would seem wise not to dilute our resources too much. The

Greek church is the most ancient of those communities; it is nearest to us in point of locality; it is compact in itself; it extends itself from Constantinople to Egypt; and it is the legitimate centre of unity to the rest. It has likewise the advantage of being strictly orthodox in its creed, (which the Chaldean and Coptic churches are not,) except, perhaps, in the one article of the procession of the Holy Ghost; in which the difference from ourselves is more in words than in reality, and on which we, it may be, have no right to insist, as the point has never been determined by a general council. The grievous misapprehensions and jealousies which have been excited in regard to our own church have been mostly within its bosom. It seems, therefore, most proper, that whatever efforts can be made for the removal of ill feeling, and to show our Christian regard, should be principally directed to it. My further remarks, therefore, will apply chiefly to it[1].

[1] These remarks were published in July, last year, and it is only by the *Ecclesiastical Gazette* of this month that I have become aware that steps have been taken by two English clergymen, in conjunction with the Church Missionary Society's agent, M. Lieder, for the formation of a college in connexion with the Coptic Church. There are two or three points connected with this measure which are very agreeable. The first is, that the parties concerned laid their plan before the patriarch, have placed him at the head of the proposed institution, and have pledged themselves that it should be managed by a committee, composed of a bishop, three priests, and six laymen of that Church; the second, that the agent of the Church Missionary Society was a

The necessity of having the actual incessant co-operation of the patriarchs of the Greek church is a

party to this proceeding, thus re-adopting the earlier principles of the Society; and thirdly, that its friends have proposed, having thus made way with the Coptic patriarch, to request the Christian Knowledge Society to carry on the plan. On the other hand, I am sorry that I feel compelled to question the desirableness of the whole proceeding. First, I do not find that our own metropolitan was consulted, or gave his approbation of the plan, or commissioned the clergymen in question to open it to the Coptic patriarch. Secondly, it appears not like the work of practical men, for the agent of the Church Missionary Society to mature a plan, and obtain the consent of the Coptic authorities to it, and then to hand it over to the Christian Knowledge Society, (not previously consulted,) to find the requisite funds. Thirdly, Can it be proper to begin with the Coptic Church? Has it been considered that there is a Greek patriarch at Cairo, claiming *rightful* authority over the whole of Egypt, and to whom the Coptic patriarch is therefore a rival? Has it been considered that the Greek patriarchate of Egypt is a branch of the great Greek Church, and that any affront offered to its representative there, will of course be resented by the whole body? Has it been considered that, up to the appointment of the Church Missionaries, the English were indebted to the Greek convent in Alexandria, in communion with this patriarch, for the rites of baptism and sepulture? Has it been considered that the Copts are a schismatical and heretical body, holding the heresy of the Monothelites, and on that account ever since the sixth century out of the communion of the Catholic Church? And if it is pressed that they are at present the most numerous body in Egypt, has it been considered that their forefathers gained their numerical superiority, by assisting the invading Mahommedan Saracens against their lawful Christian sovereign? Is it even certain that their first bishops were really bishops? All these

strong reason for having the college intended for them, not only amongst those speaking the Greek language, as, for instance, at Corfu, but actually so near in locality to the body of the Greek Christians as to be *felt* to be under their control, and to be capable of being readily visited by them. On that subject they themselves must, after all, be the best judges; but perhaps Constantinople would be felt by them to be most central; and the placing the college under British protection would insure it from violation. Yet this and many more points must necessarily be left to be settled after due deliberation, if ever the project should be attempted to be carried into practical operation.

But one thing is obvious, that much must depend upon the selection of the person chosen to superintend, or at least to be the chief working person in such a foundation. That he should be imbued with a strong deep-rooted veneration for Christian antiquity will be a prime requisite, as without this his principles will often mislead him in his conduct

points surely should be well discussed at home, and settled to the satisfaction of our prelates, before the Church of England is committed to any other alliance with them than the common charity which we are bound to extend to all who uphold, with whatever errors, the faith of our common Redeemer. And if we avoid the error of thus in the outset taking them pointedly by the hand, may we not at some future day, by prudent management, even hope to heal the unhappy schism of the Egyptian Church, and place the whole of it under one superintendence?

towards the Greek clergy. He should be likewise prepared to look upon the bishops and clergy of those churches with a deep respect; not for what they are in themselves, but for the sake of their unimpaired apostolical claims, and of the mighty men of old in whose places they now stand. If we are to raise those men towards the standard of Basil and Chrysostom, we must show, by our whole deportment towards them, that we look upon them as occupying the same stations. To have a permanent influence, and to revive the emulation of their examples, he must already possess a fondness for the writings of the early fathers, and must, in all his predilections, be a likely person to give a taste for such reading to those who may be under his care; and if his studies and habits of mind predispose him to assist in getting out editions of them suited to the moderate or low attainments of the Greek clergy, it will be so much the better. I need not say that he must be strictly a high churchman, well acquainted with all the grounds upon which high church notions, both in doctrine and discipline, stand; teaching the apostolical succession, but using it as a motive for imitation of the apostles; never associating for any public purpose with dissenting teachers; acknowledging no orders but such as are episcopal and in the succession; upholding baptismal regeneration equally with the Greeks, but removing their practical errors in regard to it; keeping aloof from modern controversies in regard to justification, but

never allowing either faith or works to be displaced from their proper station in regard to it; making much of both the sacraments; upholding the real spiritual presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper, but rejecting the carnal; zealous for the retention of ancient rites, where innocent, and wisely preparing men's minds to lay aside, of their own accord, such as are otherwise. In temper, somewhat of a spirit of enterprise will be essential, else he will not undertake the office at all; but cool, calm forethought and perseverance, turning aside at many an obstacle, stopping at many another, but only waiting to push on again when the obstacle is removed; not intent upon victory, or upon surmounting difficulties in his own strength, but regarding himself as the instrument of the great Head of the church, and employing himself as He gives opportunity; content, if it must be so, to dig the foundations, and to raise a few courses of the structure, leaving to others, if it be the will of his divine Master, the pleasure and the honour of putting the top stone to the superstructure: these must be the leading features of his character. And if to these he can add a wise facility of becoming all things to all men, if by any means he may gain some, but still without any attempt at proselyting, he will be fitter for his task; as it will be easier for him to bear with the prejudices, and to obtain the confidence, of those with whom he has to act.

His acquaintance with classical Greek authors,

and with the structure of their language, should be sound and solid, if not of the highest rank: otherwise he will fail in obtaining the respect he ought to have from literary men with whom he may have to act; neither, in fact, will he be competent to the conducting the studies of those committed to his care. He should likewise have a natural aptness for the acquirement of languages, else he cannot obtain that mastery of modern Greek which will be essential for him as the ordinary vehicle of his thoughts; neither will it be unimportant that the organs of enunciation should be flexible, to enable him to pronounce both ancient and modern Greek after the manner of those with whom he is to live.

He must not be so wedded to English habits as to be incapable of adopting those of the East, so far as they do not imply a retrogradation in civilization, or even of taking up the dress of a Greek clergyman, and assisting in their worship, so far as it is not idolatrous. He must be prepared, in short, to become a Greek in all things in which his becoming so can gain him regard or respect from those whose eternal interests he wishes to serve. He should observe their feasts and keep their fasts with the same exactness as themselves[1]; and superadd to this, that more religious use of both the Sunday and festivals which we ourselves practise. In short, whatever is good

[1] The church missionaries at Cotym came to the conclusion that it was highly important for *them* to observe the feasts and fasts of our church.

or esteemed good amongst them he should adopt, provided it is innocent; whilst he teaches them, by example, a higher and holier use of their own holy things. But, except in his own peculiar department, example is the method by which he should chiefly teach; and especially those who are his superiors in ecclesiastical rank. And most especially should he abstain from setting up any practice except what is confined to his own family, but what is distinctly approved by his superiors in the Greek church; or from leading any person with whom he may converse to any such dissatisfaction with his church as shall cause him to desire to forsake its communion. Its errors he will rather undermine than directly assault, and that by fixing the minds of all with whom he has intercourse upon its excellences, and leading them to a more truly religious use of its observances.

Can we doubt that an English clergyman of sincere and unaffected piety and modesty, a scholar and a gentleman, acting in such a spirit as this, must gain the confidence of those bishops and clergy of the ancient church in whose territories he is placed? Can we doubt that time and consistency would raise this feeling to veneration? Can we doubt that the mere spirit which emanated from him would generate, by the divine blessing, a higher and purer standard; especially if, like the early missionaries at Cotym, he carefully abstained from pressing his own ideas into practice, beyond the full conviction

of the superiors of the churches? Can we doubt that, like them, he would see reform after reform proceeding from themselves, and therefore likely to be enduring? And if, after a while, opposition or obloquy should arise from those interested in perpetuating abuses, and devoid of piety, would he not know how to bend to the storm, even to retire, if necessary, from the field, leaving it to Him who ordereth all things for the benefit of his church to bring him back again, or to raise up other and in some way fitter instruments to carry on the work; not, like an unbeliever, supposing that it must cease because he himself is removed from the scene of it?

These are the kind of means, and this is the kind of instrument, which I humbly presume to think must be employed if we are to do any permanent good to the Greek church; if we are to undo the evil which has already been done there; if we are to save it from endless schisms, and the convulsions which have rent, and well nigh ruined, the western churches. Thus may we be the honoured means of bringing about an ultimate reformation, even more faultless than our own; because originated, not like ours, (humanly speaking,) fortuitously, but conducted upon settled principles, commencing at the head, and spreading through all the members. That this can be so perfectly, I do not pretend to think. The efforts of British zeal already made to educate the lower orders and the laity first will be sure to produce some portion of the evils which they pro-

duced amongst ourselves. The separate colonies of Americans, and Independents, and Wesleyans, must perpetuate their respective schisms. There will be of course puritans again, as there were Novatians of old. But *we* shall at least, as a church, have the consolation of knowing that our efforts have been made upon right principles, and be able to look forward, in confident reliance upon a heavenly blessing, to their results.

The suggestions I have ventured to make have had for their object chiefly the *improvement and renovation* of the Greek and other Eastern churches; but whatever may be done for that end, there is one subject of most pressing importance, regarding *the continuation of the friendly relations* which have hitherto, to a certain extent, subsisted between them and us, and the *rendering of those relations more intimate:* of most pressing importance at the present time, when we not only have government or factory chaplains settled in their territories, but churches erected, or in course of erection, under no authority whatever, by the voluntary zeal of individuals; and, of course, clergymen to be attached to those churches. The government and factory chaplains are no doubt professedly under the Bishop of London; and so long as the number of our countrymen in the Mediterranean was but small, there was perhaps no *great* call for considering how their children were to be confirmed. But the number of the laity has greatly increased, and many have become permanent resi-

dents. It is therefore, I trust, no presumption if I suggest that the time is come when some provision should be made by our Church for the regular administration of that ordinance[1]. In what way that may be done, I do not pretend to determine. Whether, as the Greek clergy at Alexandria have been in the habit of giving baptism to our children, their bishops might, at the request of our metropolitan, be prevailed upon to confirm them, remains to be ascertained. But there is at least this practical difficulty, that with them confirmation is not confined to bishops, and whenever their clergy baptize, they confirm immediately afterwards; so that their bishops might be unwilling to sanction in us a usage at variance with their own. But even if they should consent to any such arrangement, there is another point unprovided for, of still greater magnitude, I mean the superintendence of the clergy of our church resident in the Mediterranean. Those attached to our embassies and factories are no doubt nominally under the Bishop of London; but how can he exercise a real superintendence over them[2]?

[1] A good deal of what follows is anticipated or set aside by the most cheering and auspicious letter of the Bishop of London to the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the formation of a Fund for the endowment of Bishoprics in the Colonies and Dependencies of the British Empire; but I leave it, because I scarcely know how to alter it; and because, on the whole, it is calculated to forward the views put forth in that valuable letter.

[2] His Lordship, in the letter alluded to, has stated his own difficulties on that head.

The case is even more difficult in regard to the other clergy, pertaining to missionary societies, or altogether independent of any one but their congregations; for there is no bishop under whom they are, even nominally, placed. And yet what a contradiction is it to have episcopal clergymen under no bishop! What an idea must it give of the Church of England! Nay, do we not know that it has already led to schismatical acts on the part of those clergy, which they would either have avoided, if they had been under a bishop, or, by refusing to be governed by him, would have separated themselves from the Church of England, and occupied a defined and ascertainable position as schismatics?

Now what is to be the remedy for this evil? I can see only two alternatives; either that the bishops of our church as a body, or the Archbishop of Canterbury as general ordinary, should require all the English clergy to submit themselves to the Greek bishops of the places of their residence, or that a bishop should be appointed to govern all the English clergy in the Mediterranean. To the former of these plans there are these considerable objections: that it would scarcely be proper to place the chaplains of our ambassadors under foreign control; that some of the clergy would have conscientious objections to placing themselves under bishops who are bound at their consecration to promote an idolatrous veneration of the Virgin Mary, and who do, as a body, promote that and many other superstitions; and that it

could scarcely be right to subject our clergy to those whose demands upon them no one can foresee, and who might require from them compliances inconsistent with the catholic and primitive principles to which we are bound to adhere.

There, therefore, only remains the alternative of appointing a bishop in communion with the Church of England, but having no jurisdiction except in the Mediterranean, much upon the same plan upon which Bishop Luscombe has been appointed for the Continent, but directly consecrated and authorized as a bishop of our church [1].

But, it may be asked, would not such an appointment be regarded as unfriendly by the prelates of the Greek church? I apprehend not. I apprehend that the Greek patriarch feels no jealousy of the Armenian, who resides in Constantinople, and confines himself simply to those of his own *language*. And even if he should, as supposing that the Armenian churches ought of right to be subject to him, yet in our case there could be no such ground of dissatisfaction. We never have been subject to the Greek patriarch; and so long as our ministrations are confined to those of English descent, and speaking the

[1] This is the very proposition which has been made by the Bishop of London; and it is so well enforced by M. Schlienz, the Christian Knowledge Society's agent, in a letter of his, from which extracts have appeared in the Ecclesiastical Gazette, that I have subjoined them as a second Appendix. For obvious reasons, I leave his Lordship's valuable letter to be perused as a whole.

English language, I should imagine that no ill-feeling could arise; the more especially if the English bishop should be found restraining the clergy under him from all interference with the pastoral province of the Greek clergy. Such an appointment would in that case be a bond of union and a pledge of amity: and surely all experience shows that this is the line a bishop would almost necessarily take. When Bishop Heber undertook the charge of the Indian diocese, he found that the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society had the practice of associating in religious meetings with the Wesleyan missionaries. He saw the matter in its true light, and requested that it might be discontinued. And in just the same manner a bishop would probably act in the Mediterranean; and thus remove what must have been all along one of the greatest stumbling-blocks to the Greek clergy; viz., that the Church Missionary Society's missionaries associated in the self same manner with the American and, I believe, English dissenting missionaries, and thus aided their schismatical efforts. Nay, might not some arrangement be entered into, by which the bishop himself might acknowledge the patriarch of Constantinople as his metropolitan [1], with the concession that the churches under his

[1] This suggestion, and some following remarks, are set aside by the plan of the Bishop of London; but they are retained, because the *spirit* of them may possibly be found useful at some future day.

care should be only English, and that the bishop should regulate their worship and discipline according to the rules of the Church of England? If this suggestion should be acted on, (and if it is, it is to be hoped that the strange anomaly will be avoided, at present existing in France, of a bishop united to no definite church,) it will remain to be considered whether he shall be attached to the British embassy, or to the proposed college; what shall be the place of his residence, or from what funds he shall derive his income. One remark may, however, be made; viz., that both the bishop and the clergyman proposed to be attached to the college (if they are different persons) should be men who would be satisfied with such simple and unostentatious habits of life as would render them not altogether unsuitable associates of their equals amongst the Greek clergy; and where that was the case, a large income would not be necessary.

The call upon the Church of England to appear in the Mediterranean *in its true aspect* is so much the stronger, when we reflect that different bodies of dissenters are making strong efforts there, and the independents are beginning to entertain the idea of founding there a colony of their own body, and thus spread to another and an ancient church the mischievous schism they keep up in their own [1].

[1] See Mr. Wilson's "Narrative of the Greek Mission," already referred to. The title of the book indeed is a complete decep-

There is one more point to which I would solicit the attention of better judges than myself. In the primitive church it was the custom for metropolitans and archbishops to keep up unity with others of the same rank by notifying their accession to their equals in the universal church, and receiving from them letters of peace and amity. Would it not tend to the restoration of unity if the practice were revived? if, for instance, the Archbishops of England and Ireland, or the Primates of both countries, with the Primus of the Scottish church, and the Presiding bishop of the American, were to signify their accession to their several dignities to at least the orthodox Greek patriarchs of Constantinople, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch? What course could be taken with the Russian church, and that of the kingdom of Greece, as they have no patriarch, and have withdrawn from subjection to him of Constantinople, is not so clear. Nor are we at present informed whether the archbishops of the Swedish and Danish churches are truly prelates of the aposto-

tion; for what person, acquainted with the real state of things in the Mediterranean, would have imagined that "the Greek Mission" could be any other than that of the Church Missionary Society? How an independent minister could have the arrogance, after the long time that Society has been in the field, and with so large a staff of labourers, to speak of the mission of himself and his co-partner, with perhaps one or two subordinate associates, as "THE Greek Mission," appears inexplicable.

lical succession, as all the others are. The revival of such an usage is naturally suggested by a consideration of this subject; and I venture to mention it under the persuasion that it would be well taken, and might be productive of happy results.

In particular, if such an intercourse were kept up, and cemented by the residence of a prudent and right-spirited bishop in the Mediterranean, would not the cause of jealousy towards us on the part of the Greek prelates be removed? Would not the grounds upon which the late patriarch of Constantinople interfered so disastrously in the Ionian islands cease to exist? Would not a dignity come to attach to that prelate and his brethren in the eyes of the Mahommedans, which they do not now possess? Nay, would not our prelates, and through them our government, begin to take the Eastern Christians by the hand, as brethren in Christ, and partly by advice to them, partly by influence with the Turkish government, prevent such oppression as has been customarily exercised towards them? And might we not soon hope, through this combined agency, to see the day when the conversion of a Mahommedan to Christianity should not, as now, expose him to the loss of all things, and even of life itself? And thus would the ties of Christian brotherhood be brought nearer to their primitive condition, and the door be opened for making the Eastern Churches the fountains of spiritual life to their oppressors.

ON THE ECCLESIASTICAL CONDITION

OF

THE ENGLISH ABROAD.

It is well known that an idea has for some time been entertained by many pious persons, that something ought to be done by the Church of England to second the wishes of those persons in France who see the defects of protestantism as there existing, and are desirous of belonging to a church such as our own. It is not intended in these remarks to question the justice of this persuasion; but when we come to consider whether anything can be done for our brethren in Christ of other communions, the mind naturally turns to the bishop and clergy of our own communion actually resident in France. And it becomes one of our first questions whether they may or may not be the foundation of a reformed catholic church in France, to which all other Christian pastors and congregations who feel with it may be affiliated. When, however, we make more particular inquiries, we find the relations of that bishop and those clergy so anomalous, and so different from

what it ought to be for the spiritual benefit of our countrymen on the Continent, leaving out all ulterior objects, that the whole subject appears to require our most serious consideration, especially as the same remarks will apply in a great degree to the English residents in all parts of Europe, the Mediterranean, and South America.

The English congregations abroad are of two descriptions; those attached to an embassy, factory, or garrison, or those which are formed in places to which persons resort for health, or pleasure, or economy: and the numbers belonging to these two descriptions of congregation are very great—as many as tens of thousands. The number of English in the south of France, for instance, is almost incredible.

Those who are connected with the government are for the most part provided with pastors in a regular way, without any trouble on their part. A chaplain is attached to the embassy or garrison; and the Bishop of London appoints one to the factory[1]; but in all other cases it rests with the residents whether they have any clergyman or not. It so happens, however, that wherever the English reside in any considerable number, they have so much attachment to religion and the forms of their church, that they support a chaplain, either permanently, or during the time of their residence; for in places of

[1] At least, that is the case with regard to some of the factories.

pleasure or health the residents are only visitors during a prescribed season. Thus at Rome, at Nice, at Geneva, there is an English clergyman constantly resident; and at Paris, besides the chaplain of the embassy, there have been two or three other clergymen. At Athens, again, there is not only a clergyman, but a church; and another is talked of at Alexandria, as well as at Jerusalem.

But when we come to reflect, we must see that this state of things is very different from what it would have been in the primitive ages. Then, if a man went from home on business or pleasure, he found the same church everywhere, and united in what was substantially the same worship. If he remained in any place, he learnt the language for purposes of business or social intercourse; and with the same knowledge, he came by degrees to understand the service and the sermons. No one thought of forming separate congregations, still less of having separate pastors; and if a person was obstinate in adhering to any peculiarities of observance he had been accustomed to, he was regarded as no good Christian.

It is needless to say that the same state of things does not now exist; and it will be equally agreed by every right-feeling person that it would be much better if it did. Nay, some, no doubt, will inquire whether we ought not to endeavour to restore it; whether, in short, it is *lawful* for Englishmen abroad to absent themselves from the worship of the ancient

churches of the places in which they happen to be, and to set up separate worship of their own. There is, however, much more to be said for the present state of things than we may perhaps at first imagine.

I shall not take the ground of the corruption of worship in foreign churches; it is no doubt a serious thing. But, *à priori*, there is no impossibility in our uniting in worship which is corrupted without taking any part in those portions of it which are objectionable. It is not necessary, however, that we should enter into this question, as will appear by the sequel.

In the early times, the language of divine worship did not differ from the language of daily life, excepting so far as the religious style must always differ from the secular; but now the case is very different. Most ancient churches have retained in divine worship the ancient language, whilst that of society has undergone great change. And although the natives of a country may be trained in early life to understand this language sufficiently, it is quite otherwise with a foreigner. His knowledge even of the ordinary language which he hears every day will long be imperfect; and what time has he, even if he had the inclination, to acquire an unspoken dialect? That reason by itself ought to excuse the laity resident abroad from the charge of schism, if they prefer worshipping in their mother tongue, as they have been accustomed to do, and consequently procure the services of a clergyman of their mother church.

If Christendom were as it ought to be, he would be immediately recognised, when properly recommended by his own bishop, as a clergyman of the universal church; would be associated to the clergy on the spot; and his congregation would be brethren with the native Christians, although worshipping in another language and with some diversity of rites. It is to be considered, moreover, that the greater part of persons composing these congregations are not denizens of the spots they inhabit, but only sojourners; some for a shorter, and others for a longer period; but all intending at some future time to return to their native country, and in most cases not knowing how soon.

Accordingly, from the eastern churches there does not appear to be any unfriendly feeling towards the chaplains of our embassies and factories, or the congregations to whom they minister. And indeed, as our embassies and factories are regarded in *civil* matters as a kind of extension of the British territories, it can afford no sufficient ground of jealousy if the same principle is applied to them in ecclesiastical things. Still it appears much to be desired that ancient feelings were so far kept up as that our clergy ministering abroad should be recommended by their bishops at home to the bishop of the territory in which their congregation is locally situated.

But besides that so great a number of our countrymen abroad would be *virtually* deprived of a large portion of the benefit of public worship if debarred

from the ministrations of a clergyman of their own church, there is this other consideration in all Roman-catholic countries, abundantly sufficient to shield them from the charge of schism; viz., that they are positively hindered from *communicating* in their churches without condemning their own church of schism and heresy. For in Roman countries no person can communicate without confession and absolution. The necessary intercourse with the priest, even if any one could in conscience comply with this part of the Roman discipline, would discover him to be a protestant; and when once discovered the priest would not be suffered to admit him to communion without a formal renunciation of what they would call his schism and heresy. This is sufficiently evident from an examination of the ritual of the Roman churches; but if it had not been so, the experiment made by Mr. Froude and his friend at Rome would have entirely settled the question. And this being the case, when we reflect that the churches of that communion refuse to us, and to all who do not submit to the pope, communion in the highest and most necessary act of Christian worship, it must surely be abundantly clear that so long as this state of things exists it is not only lawful, but a duty, for those of us who remain in the territories of that church to procure the ministrations of our own clergy where it is possible. To do otherwise would be to acknowledge that communion in the Lord's Supper is a point of no importance.

But Christian communion is not kept up merely by communicating with a single congregation and its pastor. Μηδὲν χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου. That congregation and that pastor must be in communion with a larger body; viz., the church universal; and the link by which they are bound to the church is a *bishop*. Moreover, it is requisite that they should both be under government and amenable to discipline; and the instrument of that government and discipline is a *bishop*. Moreover, to form a permanent bond of union between a congregation and its pastor, there is required not only election on the part of the congregation and acceptance on the part of the pastor, but appointment by some higher than either; and that higher is a *bishop*. So that every congregation of Englishmen abroad is, or ought to be, subject to a bishop, and every clergyman ministering to such congregation should be appointed by him, and be responsible to him; otherwise both pastor and congregation are in a state of separation from the Catholic Church. No clergyman can be a clergyman at large. When he is ordained, he is bound to a bishop; and to some bishop he must both owe and yield allegiance as long as he lives, or he thereby in all ordinary cases forfeits his title to exercise his office. And so likewise no Christian congregation can be rightfully detached from a bishop; a congregation under no bishop is in a state of isolation, and consequent schism. It may be so ignorantly or involuntarily; but still the fact is no less certain.

This is acknowledged in theory by the church of England; for, if common opinion is to be trusted, every clergyman connected with an embassy or factory is regarded as under the Bishop of London, and every clergyman not under any particular bishop is regarded as under the Archbishop of Canterbury, as general ordinary. And as, by the ordinary discipline of the church, no clergyman can minister statedly in a diocese without the sanction of its bishop, it follows of course that no one can have a right to minister statedly even to congregations of our own communion on the continent of Europe, or in the Mediterranean, without the sanction either of the metropolitan or of the Bishop of London.

But what is the actual state of things? In regard to the embassies, garrisons, and factories, the discipline of the church may possibly be preserved; but in other cases it is almost if not quite neglected. The English crowd together in a place; if a clergyman happens to visit the place, he is requested to officiate. If he continues to reside there, and he is acceptable, his ministry becomes habitual. In a more advanced state of things there is a committee formed to manage the affairs of the congregation, and they elect a clergyman and guaranty him an income; but no bishop is consulted, and both clergyman and congregation are quite irresponsible to any spiritual superior. There is a voluntary contract between them, and they are kept together by mutual convenience. The clergyman has only the weight

of personal character and acceptableness to support him; authority he has none. He is the pastor of an independent congregation, keeping up the services of the Church of England, and having a clergyman episcopally ordained; but, *as a congregation*, they *belong* in fact to no church whatever, although they may be bound to allegiance to that of England.

From this state of things there arise numerous evils; but the most prominent is, that there are vast bodies of Christians totally deprived of one important ordinance of the church—viz., confirmation, without which, in theory, no one can have a right to the holy communion; and the practical value of which, in itself, is every day more and more seen at home. Young people therefore grow up, many of whom will not venture to become communicants, because they have not been confirmed; and those who do avail themselves of the church's permission in extreme cases will in all probability be admitted without due preparation; or if not, will learn practically to think light of one of her most valuable ceremonies. And these remarks apply not only to all the congregations which are unconnected with an embassy or factory, but also to many on the Continent, and to all at a greater distance which are so connected.

No doubt the reasons why these circumstances failed to attract attention for so long a time were, partly, that a residence abroad was supposed to be only temporary, and that for a long time the number

of persons was so few that no one thought of making any specific provision for them; partly, because the evils have grown up by degrees, and no one step in the progress of them has attracted any particular attention; partly, because our prelates have shrunk from taking any course which might appear to render them liable to the charge of schism, and place them at all events in a very novel position; partly, because they had enough to do at home, and had no means at hand of providing for the exigencies of those abroad. It was thought, no doubt, likewise, that the habit of residing abroad was not a good one, and that it was not desirable to sanction it or do anything to give it permanence; that those who did so acted with a knowledge of what they were doing, and were the only persons responsible.

This last remark, however, is an answer to *justice*, but not to *charity*. I trust I am not presumptuous in suggesting the question, whether the heads of our church are not called on to make provision for the whole flock which *owes allegiance* to them. If it is true that those members of our church who reside on the ground of unfriendly churches ought to look homeward and keep up their connexion with their native clergy and bishops, is it not likewise true that in charity they have a claim upon their native prelates to see that they are not left destitute of superintendence and discipline, and the ordinances of the church? It may be that a higher estimation of reli-

gious privileges would have prevented them from taking up a permanent, or all but permanent, residence abroad; but still, ought our Fathers to look too strictly at this? Should they not rather seek after them the more earnestly in proportion as they appear not to know what they are doing? We have seen the duty of providing for the necessities of those who have emigrated to our own colonies; why should we be slow to supply the needs of those who are in a similar state of destitution, although not to an equal extent, especially when, as will be shown hereafter, it can be done without any expense to the mother country?

That these considerations have weighed to a considerable extent with many, and with those in high stations, is evident from the circumstance that a bishop has been for some years resident on the Continent with the object of ministering to the English congregations abroad—viz., Bishop Luscombe. Difficulties having arisen to the minds of the English prelates who were applied to on the subject, those of Scotland gave him *consecration* and *mission*, and thus put him in a condition to afford confirmation to those who should desire it; and if that had been all which was requisite, there would have been no need of any further consideration of the subject.

But in the first place it was necessary that the bishop should have a revenue for his support. That difficulty has been at present provided for by making him chaplain to the English embassy at Paris; but

this arrangement is only of a temporary character; and if it should be set aside, there is no source, except private income, or the voluntary offerings of the English, or the seat-rents of a chapel in Paris or elsewhere, all in their nature precarious, to which this bishop can look for support. Then, again, if he is to confirm, he must travel to those places at which he is to hold confirmations; and from whence are the funds to arise? This difficulty is at present the impediment to his holding confirmations except at those places in which the residents will guaranty him the requisite provision[1].

But supposing the pecuniary question to be settled, there is the great difficulty of *jurisdiction;* for there can be no authority where there is no jurisdiction. The Scottish prelates had not and could not have any jurisdiction over the English on the Continent, they being almost entirely members of the English church. Moreover, the Bishop of London had already an *acknowledged* jurisdiction over a certain class of congregations, and the Archbishop of Canterbury one *by right* over the others; and they either could

[1] This information was given to me by a clergyman who had resided some time in France, and appeared to have had good opportunities of knowing the existing state of things. A friend of Bishop Luscombe's has since written to the Editor of the British Magazine to say, that the bishop (greatly to his credit, but not at all to the credit of the English on the Continent) had always defrayed the expenses of his episcopal journeys out of his own resources.

not, or did not think it right, to resign their powers. Indeed, connected as they are with the state, it may be doubted whether they *could* formally resign them without an act of parliament. The difficulty was in some degree met by the Bishop of London appointing Bishop Luscombe his commissary for continental purposes, thus giving him authority to act as his deputy or suffragan wherever he himself had jurisdiction. But this was still only a partial measure, and did not extend to the great body of congregations; so that even now there is no one who has the right of restraining irregularity either in clergy or laity[1]. They are hitherto virtually independent, since there is no bishop to whom they owe allegiance and from whom they can obtain those ministrations which a bishop alone can give.

There is this further difficulty arising from the present state of things in regard to the congregations not subject to the Bishop of London. If their native prelates neither minister to them nor claim their allegiance, is not the bond of union virtually dissolved, so far as neglect (I do not mean *voluntary* neglect) can do it? And if they have recourse to Bishop Luscombe for confirmation, do not both pastor and congregation from that time become subject *of right* to him? And since, *as a*

[1] It is understood that the Bishop of London has withdrawn this authority from Bishop Luscombe, so that the case is even stronger than was supposed.

bishop, he does not belong to the English but to the Scottish church, are not those congregations thenceforward under the latter? In short, does not that prelate at this moment deeply feel his irregular position? And is it not most desirable that he should be placed in one more defined and ascertainable?

These remarks apply to the congregations within reach of Bishop Luscombe's physical strength. But for those beyond his reach no provision has been made of the most temporary kind. A British bishop travelling for his health may pass through one of these colonies of English and confirm their children, but that is all; and where that is not the case, they are left, so far as the episcopal office extends, as sheep without a shepherd. Is this to be allowed to continue? Shall I be excused of presumption if, after much reflection, I propose what appears to me to be a remedy, and a practical remedy?

I may appear to be stepping out of my sphere in proposing measures which lie within the province of my superiors in the church; but those of us who are less mixed up with the throng and hurry of public life have leisure to reflect at length on many things which can only obtain a more brief consideration from those whose station would call them to carry these things into effect.

Happily there is no considerable difficulty as to the *support of clergymen* for the congregations of whom I am speaking. The chaplains of embassies and factories have definite incomes; and the free-

will offerings and fees of wealthy visitors and residents are sufficient in other cases. The first point, then, is to bring the clergy, and in them their congregations, into union and subjection to their rightful superior. And for this purpose I would humbly suggest that the Archbishop of Canterbury should be requested to issue his letters to all such clergy, and through them to their congregations, for this twofold purpose; viz., 1. To obtain a regular election and nomination of a pastor, with an undertaking that he shall not be dismissed or discarded except through the archbishop or such person as he may appoint; and, when it is practicable or desirable, a guarantee of a certain income: and, 2. To require the clergyman so nominated to conform to those regulations which are established in regard to those who obtain curacies or livings in England. In this manner the whole of the now outstanding congregations might be brought fully within the pale of the English church. If desirable, the ambassador's chaplain might be appointed a commissary, with the requisite powers for the whole of the kingdom to which he is chaplain; and with regard to Italy, the whole might be placed under one such chaplain [1]. This would be a great step gained; and when this was done, all acts of encroachment upon friendly churches (as for instance, upon the Greek church)

[1] This and some subsequent suggestions appear to be set aside to a certain extent by the plan of the Bishop of London.

might be at once put an end to; or, if persisted in, it might be punished precisely in the same way in which similar irregularities would be visited if committed at home. And if nothing more were done than this, how much evil would be prevented? Let any one consider the mischief done in the Mediterranean, with the very best intentions, by English clergymen, as pointed out in the previous paper, and he will at once perceive that, by such a course as I am recommending, this must be entirely prevented for the future, or at least the church would be guiltless of it. And how great a matter would this be, accomplished (not without care and labour, but) at no expense whatever beyond the postage of a few score letters!

There can be but little doubt that our revered metropolitan has only to take the matter in hand, and it would be accomplished. Many difficulties give way before recognized authority, which are insurmountable to the most splendid talents and the most unwearied perseverance, unsupported by authority.

But although this would be much in itself, and a cause of great rejoicing to all who truly understand and love church principles, who cherish unity and abhor division, yet it would not meet the whole evil; for where are our young abroad to look for confirmation? And is it right to leave them without it? Do we not thereby tempt them to join other and more corrupt, possibly hostile, churches? Nothing will be done effectively until *bishops* can be provided

for our countrymen abroad, so that the church may nowhere be deficient in anything requisite to its completeness. And so long as they are provided solely for the superintendence of our own people, no friendly church is likely to take umbrage at the appointment. We should take from such churches nothing which they have at present; and the appointment might be made a means and a pledge of surer amity in future. How this would be so has been already pointed out in the paper just referred to. And if I can show that we *might* have bishops without any additional expense to people at home, I trust I shall have done all that is necessary[1]; although it surely would be worth attempting even if it did involve some trifling addition to the public burdens, or to the expenditure of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, or the Christian Knowledge Society.

It begins now to be understood that the *essential* character of a bishop may be kept up without an income greater than what is enjoyed by many private clergymen. To say nothing of the Scottish bishops and those of the United States, the appointments of the bishops of Australia and Newfoundland evince this; and no doubt, if no material expenses are entailed upon a clergyman by his appointment to the episcopate, the office may be effectively discharged by any

[1] This was written, for the sake of this economical age, before the Bishop of London's noble plan was announced; and the suggestion may still apply to some cases.

one who is personally qualified for it. Rank and wealth are useful, and indeed all but indispensable, in an old country like this, as appendages to our domestic bishoprics; but they are not absolutely *necessary* elsewhere. We have, then, in *the chaplains of the ambassadors* persons locally situated in the very places where bishops are wanted. We have one of these chaplains—viz., at Paris, actually a bishop. Why may not others be made so, both on the Continent and in the Mediterranean, and empowered to act as suffragans of the Archbishop of Canterbury within certain prescribed limits? It would require, of course, that the Bishop of London should resign his foreign jurisdiction; but to this, I imagine, that distinguished prelate would have no objection if a permanent appointment should be made of another[1]. In the present state of things there is a bishop without jurisdiction, and yet naturally desirous of exercising episcopal powers towards those who need such exercise; but in so doing, in continual danger of clashing with the jurisdiction of English prelates who are physically unable to take due care of their spiritual subjects. He is in a false position, and his being so is injurious both to himself and to the church. But once give him a rightful jurisdiction, and we shall soon see the good effects. He is at present in danger of taking schismatical steps, and perhaps may have done so from not being bound to

[1] The letter already referred to shows that I was right in thus presuming.

any particular church; but make him a prelate of the church of England, and he would not feel himself at liberty to act without correspondence with his brother prelates, or at least without the sanction of the metropolitan.

There is one point, however, still unprovided for. An ambassador's chaplain may have a sufficient income to fulfil the duties of a bishop so long as he is stationary; but if he is to visit the various portions of the territory under his charge, without which he can scarcely keep up an effective superintendence of the clergy, and certainly cannot confirm, (which would be one great end of his appointment to the higher order,) it is necessary that his income should be increased; and for that purpose I have a suggestion to make, which I venture to think will be found capable of being carried into effect. It is well known that the Jewish priests were supported in part by a tithe paid them by the Levites out of the general tithe paid by the people. The same course is, I believe, pursued in Ireland for the sustenance of the Roman bishops. Upon this hint, then, I would propose that we should act until, or unless, something better can be done. In some places no doubt a separate fund might be raised to pay the expenses incurred by the bishop in visiting them; but in all those in which an income is raised for a clergyman it would be practicable to reserve a fraction of the amount, small in itself, but sufficient, when added to others, (especially if raised every year,) to supply

the charges of the bishop during a triennial visitation. And in those places in which there are many visitors, there can be but little doubt that when the arrangement became known, many would contribute their voluntary offerings in aid of so necessary a work, and to the relief of the resident pastor. The very feeling which sustains a minister of the church in every considerable place, would lead to regularity of payments, if the arrangement emanated from the highest quarter in the church, and was sustained in vigour by means of regularly constituted officers, analogous to our churchwardens. And if ever this proposition or any similar one should be carried into effect, it will be found much less burdensome to the individual congregations than when a visit has to be made to each separately, according as they contrive to raise the necessary funds. The bishop's visits would be known beforehand, and preparations made to receive him at regular seasons. His approach would soon come to be hailed with pleasure; the residents would vie with each other in hospitality to him. Each succeeding visit would strengthen the cause of religion and the church; and our ecclesiastical system would appear to our fellow Christians abroad much more nearly in its true colours than it has ever yet appeared.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

I HAVE referred to the melancholy circumstances attending the deposition of the late patriarch of Constantinople. I have been unable to find any satisfactory statement of particulars; but such as I have been able to discover, I proceed to lay before the reader.

The first is an extract from a private letter, published in the "English Chronicle" newspaper, of Feb. 29, and dated Constantinople, Feb. 7:—

"Lord Ponsonby (our ambassador) has also a subject of complaint against the Ottoman Cabinet; for it appears that the English government, having discovered that the Greek patriarch at Constantinople, who is a man entirely devoted to Russia, has been concerned in a conspiracy formed in the Ionian isles against the English, had demanded his dismissal; which would infallibly have been granted, had it not been for the intervention of M. de Bonteneiff (the Russian ambassador). And the patriarch will most probably retain his post, in spite of all Lord Ponsonby can do; for it is certain that the Russians, notwithstanding the pre-

dilection of Reschid Pacha for England, possess more influence at Constantinople than any other European nation."

What a truly lamentable state of things! A Christian Bishop engaged in a political conspiracy! His deposition from his station spoken of as though it were a light and ordinary thing, and that at the mere will of the Infidel! And that deposition demanded, as though no slighter or less extreme correction could be inflicted, by a Christian and an English Churchman! And lastly, his deposition, or the contrary, depending, not upon justice, but upon the result of conflicting political influences!

The next extract is from a letter in the same paper, dated March 4:—

"The Porte has at length given assurances that satisfaction will be given to the full extent demanded by Lord Ponsonby in the affair of the patriarch. This promise was given on Saturday; and to-day I have been informed that it has been religiously performed, by the expulsion of Gregorios from the patriarchal dignity. Thus the honour of the British government has been vindicated, and the political crime of Gregorios expiated by the severest punishment which the Porte could inflict. But further this triumph of our diplomacy does not extend. Aristarchi, one of the Logothetes of the Greek Church, and a well-known creature of Russia, has, by orders of the synod, presented to the Porte for confirmation the appointment of Anthinos, a Greek prelate, no less devoted to Russia than his predecessor. The new patriarch will, no doubt, follow the steps of his precursor in that dignity, though probably he will act with more caution, and abstain from violating openly the rights of Great Britain in the Ionian islands."

The two last extracts, dated March 18 and 19, are much longer, and give us a somewhat clearer idea of the facts of the case:—

"March 18.—The affair of the patriarch is still depending. Before Lord Ponsonby could wring from the Porte a reluctant reparation to the insulted honour of the British nation, he was compelled to use the strongest language, and even to threaten to break off all relation with the Imperial Ministers. The degradation of the patriarch was communicated to his Excellency the British Ambassador, in an official note, which notices that measure on the demands of his lordship; but the Porte has carefully avoided any public avowal to that effect, without which the object of the British government will be defeated. Again, in the choice of a new patriarch, Reschid Pacha, as if ashamed of the concession he had been obliged to make, and determined to render it completely nugatory, has employed a *supercherie* of the most disgraceful and iniquitous nature. A day was appointed (Thursday) for the assembling of the synods, in order to choose a new patriarch; but Reschid Pacha, through the instrumentality of a Logathetis, one of the Russian whippers-in, caused such members of that assembly as were known to be in the imperial interest to be summoned a day previous (Wednesday) to that fixed on: and that illegal meeting immediately named Anthimos to the vacant chair. In order to prevent the difficulty of a protestation on the part of the absent members, Reschid Pacha, without a moment's delay, presented the election to the Sultan for confirmation, and thus secured the patriarchal throne to a more devoted slave of Russia than the disgraced Gregorios. The predominant influence of Russia in the Greek synod is so well known, and the facility with which she can always command a majority of voices so undoubted,

that it is difficult to account for this gratuitous villany of Reschid Pacha."

"March 19.—Since writing the above, a *hatti-scherrif* has appeared, of which the following is a translation :—

"'*Vizier.*—According to what has been said in the report (of the council), I have examined into the complaints of the British Ambassador on account of the improper conduct of the patriarch with regard to the Seven Islands, and the judgment of the commission appointed by the council of Achem Adlié. As it has been in the time of my ancestors of glorious memory, the subjects of the different sects of the empire have the right to practise freely their religion : and my imperial order is, that the chiefs of these sects should be protected from all embarrassment and difficulty in the exercise of their duties and rights. But at the same time they must not abuse these privileges, so as to compromise the empire with foreign powers, its friends and allies. If the complaints of the above-mentioned ambassador related to some religious difficulties between the patriarch and the government of the Seven Islands, the excuses of the patriarch would have been submitted to the ambassador : but, according to the report of the commission, the patriarch, not confining himself to the exercise of his legal influence, has made use of language really blameable, and unworthy of the friendship which exists between our empire and England : and according to thy report, the culpability of the patriarch having been proved in the council general, let him be deposed, and let the bishops choose another.—Such is my order.'

"The patriarch, Gregorios, in his examination before the commission appointed by the council, asserts that his publications to the inhabitants of the Seven Islands had been caused by a communication made to him through the British Ambassador, by a party of the clergy who had been influ-

enced by the government, which contained propositions tending to subvert the Greek religion; that it was his imperious and sacred duty to oppose these heretical measures; and that as these communications were made to him in writing, it was necessary to reply to them in the same way. To the question, Why he introduced political matter into these publications? he gives no distinct answer. He particularly adverts to the falling off of the Greek Socinians, [what are they?] and to the education of Greek children in Protestant schools; and protests against ordaining to the priesthood any individual who has been instructed at these institutions. He asserts his right to the nomination of the metropolitan of the Seven Islands; though he allows that this right requires the confirmation, and is subject to the control, of the senate and government."

To understand the conduct of the patriarch, we must remember that the whole of the new kingdom of Greece was formerly, in spiritual matters, subject to him, and yielded a willing submission to him; but that since the establishment of that kingdom, the bishops and clergy have been *compelled* to renounce his authority, and to submit to that of a holy synod, after the Russian fashion, nominated by the government. At this disruption of ancient ties, against the wish and conscientious judgment of both parties, and without any offence committed by the patriarchs, not leaving them even a nominal primacy of rank, but totally and permanently severing the connexion, it is not surprising that they should be highly indignant: nor can they be blamed for taking any lawful means to recover what they have lost. Besides this, the Greek government has patronized the Church Missionary Schools, which naturally by association prejudices the patriarch against them. The influence of education again, beginning at the wrong end, is

telling in the Mediterranean, by producing a disaffection of the people towards the bishops and clergy: so that, apart from the bigotry and ignorance of most of them (which must be confessed) they feel a natural dislike of those schools and of all their fruits; and not being able themselves, from want of information, to appreciate the grounds upon which we object to some of their practices, and therefore not being able to foresee any limit to innovation, it is not surprising that they are alarmed for the whole fabric of their religion, and reject all change as heretical. This is the natural consequence of beginning enlightenment from below, and forcing it on by dint of money and worldly power, without taking proper means to convince the divinely appointed teachers of the people. And indeed there is too much reason to believe that some of the teaching of European missionaries is positively erroneous. To say nothing of the Greek Socinians, (of whom I do not know how or when they sprung up,) the dissenting missionaries *must* teach error: and as those of the Church have associated with them and taken them by the hand, how can the Greeks make a distinction? Besides, we know, by their own confession, that they have been travelling about, prejudicing the people against their bishops and clergy.

From all these combined causes the patriarch feels a not unpardonable jealousy of all innovation; and finding it supported by the civil government, is it surprising, (however much to be regretted and however wrong it may be,) that he should regard that government as the enemy of his Church, and endeavour to prejudice the people againt it? To what extent he went, we are not informed; but it is evident that he is not charged with *secret* machinations. He sent a public answer to a public document. The time coincides with a conspiracy to overthrow the government: but it does not appear that he was cognizant of that conspiracy,

although, no doubt, he would wish well to it. But altogether it is a melancholy business: and our ambassador's demand for his deposition shows, not the depth of his guilt, still less any excessive severity on the part of Lord Ponsonby, (who probably acted according to precedent,) but the depth of degradation to which the patriarchal dignity is fallen, from its being at the absolute disposal of a despotic and unbelieving power. Still there is this redeeming feature, that the *form* of election by the bishops themselves is still preserved: and may we not hope that, if ever a friendly understanding should be re-established between the Greek and English churches, by means of the contemplated Mediterranean Bishop, one of the fruits of it will be the restoration of the patriarchs of Constantinople, not to their ancient power, (for the changes in the world render it undesirable,) but to their ancient pastoral respectability; so that they may not appear so totally unworthy to sit in the chair of Chrysostom, and may become, in time, instead of being the shuttlecocks and tools of political agents, the sources of spiritual revival to their primitive church.

APPENDIX, No. II.

Extract from the "Ecclesiastical Gazette" for June, 1840, containing quotations from the Correspondence of the Rev. C. F. Schlienz, the Christian Knowledge Society's Agent at Malta.

The English residents in the Levant are entitled, as members of an Episcopal Church, to the personal ministration of a Bishop. For as the Bishop of London has forcibly observed, an Episcopal Church without a Bishop is a contradiction in terms. The evil, however, is not confined to a contradiction in terms alone, but affects materially the best interests of the Church.

On this point our correspondent states, that "the regular discharge of the Episcopal functions is needful, on account of the residents themselves, and especially as regards the rising generation. As the rite of confirmation in our Church is administered by the Bishop alone, the young people of the English congregations in the Levant grow up generally without ever having made their public profession of religion, and without having been confirmed in their most holy faith." This rite, and the due preparation for receiving it, are of even greater importance in those

countries than here. For, surrounded as these young persons are by those of a different faith, it is evidently of the greatest consequence that they should be both well instructed and well grounded in their own; and that they should have the full benefit of all the ordinances and the spiritual blessings which belong to their own Church. If they have not these advantages, we ought not to feel surprised at their deserting the communion of their own Church, and joining themselves to the corruptions and idolatries of Rome. The emissaries of that church are ever on the watch, and have succeeded in a few cases in Malta, and probably in other places, in perverting some of the more ignorant of the members of our church.

The same necessity exists with regard to the Clergy of our Church in these countries. They are frequently placed in circumstances of peculiar difficulty, and are in great need of Episcopal counsel and support. The stations are so distant from each other, that there is little mutual assistance. And, generally speaking, the tone of manners, and the habits of the people around them, joined to the influence of climate, have a strong tendency to damp the zeal, to depress the energies, and to lower the standard of feeling in the solitary and secluded pastor. "Removed," to use the words of our correspondent, "removed as they are from a country where the multifarious and constant exertions of Christian benevolence prove a mighty stimulus to pious feeling, and transported into regions of spiritual torpor, where the motives to religious actions are sought for in practices of superstition and fanaticism, and where even the priesthood are too frequently ignorant of the word of God, it requires the most diligent watchfulness in a clergyman to guard against the effects of this torpor upon himself: and it would be the greatest possible advantage to have the superintendence of a pious and vigilant Father of the Church,

who would be able to keep up the standard of character, and of intelligence among the clergy."

The extent of the necessity may be judged of from an enumeration of the clergy, who would come under the superintendence of the Bishop.

The number of chaplains, civil and military, (which is at present grievously inadequate,) and of clergymen settled over congregations of the Church of England, who would be placed under the jurisdiction of the proposed Bishop, is as follows:—Two at Malta, three at Gibraltar (two English and one Spanish), two in the Ionian Islands, and one at each of the following places:—Lisbon, Smyrna, Oporto, Athens, Constantinople, Alexandria, Trieste, Venice, Naples, Messina, Palermo, Algiers (?), Rome, Leghorn, Florence, Genoa, Nice, and Marseilles; and shortly also at Jerusalem, where a church is now building.

Besides these, there are clergymen occasionally officiating at other cities. There are also generally about ten or twelve naval chaplains in the Mediterranean fleet, who require the occasional advice of a Bishop, and who would be glad to have the opportunity of presenting the youths from on board her Majesty's ships for confirmation. There are, moreover, eleven or twelve missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, most of them in English orders, and two missionaries of the Episcopal Church of America, established within the proposed limits. So that the number of clergy under the Bishop's jurisdiction would be considerably more than that of the diocese of Sodor and Man, and we believe of some of the Irish dioceses.

And when we consider that some of the congregations would be at least a thousand miles apart, it will be evident that the oversight of the clergy thus scattered abroad would be enough, and more than enough, for one Bishop to undertake. In fact, the stations of Gibraltar, Lisbon, and

Oporto, with occasional visits to Cadiz, Malaga, Alicante, Barcelona, and other parts of Spain, where the intolerance of the Spanish Government prevents, for the present, the establishment of any permanent chaplain, would afford sufficient employment for a second Bishop. And thus the Bishop established at Malta would be spared the time and hazard of the longer voyages, and would be more able to attend to the affairs of the churches and clergy in the Levant.

With regard to the missions established in the Mediterranean by societies connected with the Church of England, our correspondent observes, "You are aware that they have never been favoured with the superintendence of a bishop. Now this is a want which I deem myself warranted in saying has not only very injuriously affected the prosperity of our Church in these parts, but has even prejudiced the national character and interests of Great Britain in the eyes of the people of the Levant, who have naturally inferred from it that she cares little or nothing for the national religion; and I have no hesitation in asserting, that if measures were taken for the proper supply of this want, they would be highly conducive to the best interests both of the Church and of the State at home. In making this assertion I trust I am not passing a hasty judgment. Having spent nearly fourteen years at Malta, and having, during that time, visited most places of importance in the Levant, and kept up a very extensive correspondence, not only with many of the clergy and laity of our own Church, but also with a great variety of respectable persons both of the Eastern and Western Churches residing in the Levantine countries, I may perhaps be deemed able to give an opinion founded on experience."

"Again, it seems to be worthy of notice, that our mis-

sions in the Levant are regarded by the natives and the Franks generally as national institutions, and as being connected not only with the Church but with the Government. And though most of the European agents of these missions are Germans, yet they are treated as English agents, are respected as such, and are expected to act in that capacity."

"The argument in favour of a bishop may perhaps derive additional strength from the consideration, that although the statistics of Europe are as yet but little known in the Levant, yet the people have become generally well acquainted with the fact, that the Church of England is episcopal. This, of course, tells a great deal in our favour in the sight of the Eastern Churches, and even in the sight of the public authorities of those countries who know of none other than episcopal Churches among them. But on the other hand, how defective in appearance must our missions and our Church establishment present to them when, for reasons which they cannot understand, but which they will naturally suppose to arise from indifference or irreligion, we are never permitted to have the visitation or the residence of a bishop in the whole of the Mediterranean; whilst the missions of the Russians, the French, the Austrians, and the Roman Catholic Franks generally, are continually backed and honoured by a number of bishops, archbishops, and patriarchs."

Speaking of the importance of this measure with reference to the Oriental Church, our correspondent observes, "How depressed soever the Eastern Church may be in those parts, still the influence of the Christians over public affairs is most extensive. The Copts in Egypt are the financial managers of the Pasha's government; the Armenians in Turkey are the merchants and bankers; the

Greeks are the skilful artisans and tradesmen, and the best sailors of the Levant; the Nestorians are the strong and peaceful farmers and craftsmen of Mesopotamia. Thus, independent of religion, the Christians are still the salt and marrow of the Turkish empire; and without them the body of the Turkish nation would have long since become like a corrupted and decayed carcass, ready to be devoured by the northern eagle."

But there are subjects of considerable difficulty and delicacy involved in the question of intercourse with these Oriental communities; and nothing is more needful than the presence and direction of a bishop to regulate and guide the intercourse between the clergy of our own Church and those of other churches in those countries. Unquestionably the churches and communities of the East generally are in a condition which it is painful to contemplate, and it seems to be in our power to do much towards their improvement in knowledge; but we must not forget that they are entitled to respect as our elder brethren, and require to be tenderly dealt with as being equally independent with ourselves. We can have no right to interfere with them without their consent. Almost every person capable of judging of the question now perceives that the attempt to force the adoption of European Protestant views upon the ancient churches of Asia and Africa would be an unwise course, even if it were justifiable. But it is evident to every one who has looked into the subject, that much may be done by friendly counsel and friendly assistance towards improving their spiritual condition upon their own principles.

Independent of the foregoing considerations, there seem to be many other things relating to our Church which are urgently required, and which the new ordinary would find occasion to set in order. As for instance, to use his endea-

vours to provide pastors for all those places in the Mediterranean countries where there are English residents, but where they are at present without the ordinances and ministry of their own Church; and to devise the best means for securing these benefits to those who already enjoy them. The erecting and endowing of churches, the establishment of schools for their children, and the securing to them the enjoyment of the rites and privileges of an English Episcopal Church, and, in short, whatever may be necessary for the advantage and security of our congregations in the Levant: these will be among the objects of his mission; and it can hardly be necessary to show that the attainment of these objects will be the most effectually secured by the exertions of a resident bishop.

With regard to the qualifications of a bishop for the Levant, we entirely concur in the opinion of our correspondent, that one of those qualifications should be, "the possession of a truly Catholic spirit, which seeks and esteems truth throughout the whole of the Catholic Church of Christ, even if it be in churches which are most corrupt and degraded." And again, "He will greatly need that love which is ready to deny oneself for the sake of Christ and his Church, undergoing with cheerfulness fatigue and hardships, on water and on land, for the sake of administering to the spiritual wants of those over whom he is called to preside."

Nor can we refrain from joining heartily in his concluding wish, "Oh that the voice of a wise, pious, and active bishop of our Church may soon be heard in the Levant, and may be uttered from Gibraltar to the Bosphorus with all the firmness and holy zeal which truth may justly assume, but at the same time with all the urbanity, the gentleness, and the truly Catholic spirit which have characterized so many

of our Fathers and Reformers! I entertain but little doubt that there would be a happy response of praise and thanksgiving to God, and of acknowledgments to the Church, from the whole of the sacred string of our missions and congregations along the shores of the Mediterranean."

THE END.

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PREFACE.

MEN of thought, study, and true patriotism, will require but an ordinary exercise of their perspicacity to discern, that a period cannot be very far distant when a critical examination into the nature of Religion, as regards both its ecclesiastical and its doctrinal structure, will become much more general than heretofore in the world.

If society be passing through that phase, which in physics is called organic, they, to whom in the course of God's providence the government of affairs has been committed, will be called upon to apply their wisdom and their knowledge to the direction of this powerful, because fundamental, movement, which, otherwise, might stir up in its course the bitterest and fiercest feelings of the human breast.

Should this publication assist in shewing what spirit might most advantageously preside at such a movement; and at the same time convey any information on matters not usually occupying the mind of men engaged in public affairs; the writer will have found the reward he looks for beyond the satisfaction of having fulfilled a duty in writing it. And should circumstances hereafter require it, he will feel it a duty again to take up his pen.

No attempt has been made at excitement: the aspect of events, and the work to be done, are of too grave a character to admit of hazarding any thing on the result of passion or prejudice. Evils must be contemplated staidly, and their remedy calmly but firmly taken in hand. A much larger book might have been written on the subject: but regard has been had to the reader's time. Only it is requested, that it be judged of as a whole, and not from any particular passage or portion.

F. B. G.

Oxford,
Feast of the Epiphany, 1841.

Note.

As the Scriptures have been represented throughout this Work as the Rule of Christianity, it will not seem inappropriate to conclude with indicating the two passages out of the Old Testament which the Anglican branch of the Church Catholic has prescribed for perusal on this day—the Feast of Epiphany.

Morning.—Isaiah, chap. lx.
Evening.—Isaiah, chap. xlix.

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NATIONAL CATHOLICITY.

If the will of God be in any thing peculiarly discernible at the present day, it will assuredly be acknowledged to be in this: viz. the long *continuance* of *Peace*. In vain have events arisen in connexion successively with the affairs of Greece, Portugal, Belgium, Spain, and Syria, which seemed of a character to perplex governments and to excite hopes in the minds of the turbulent and unruly; the danger has been set aside, disorderly expectations frustrated, and the will of God only rendered more manifest: so that now during the very uncommon period of twenty-eight years, (the term almost of a human generation,) we have beheld Peace happily prevailing among the nations of Europe.

Does not this plain fact call upon us to withdraw our attention from what man is able to do, in order to fix our consideration on what it may be God's gracious purpose to effect? So that, enlarging our feeling beyond the habitual limits of country and of people, and embracing in our sympathies all the European family; remembering the horrors of war, the violation of principle of every kind—the rapine, inhumanity, disorderly connexions which it countenances and promotes—we

may hail this blessing of Peace as an indication of a merciful design in the order of God's Providence for breaking down that barrier of enmity and mutual jealousy which has subsisted between nations, and for introducing the dominion of religious truth more extensively in the hearts of mankind.

Here then is an object which claims not only our noblest contemplation, but our most anxious co-operation likewise. We bear in common the name of "Christian;" and we put up in common that petition, whose author was Christ Himself, *Thy Kingdom come:* yet how little are we found concerned respecting the means for bringing to pass such a consummation! When we discern what the will of God is, must it not also be a bounden duty to apply our exertions to carry that will into effect? Did they whose duty it is to support order, display for rendering available the various elements that might serve their system the same activity, labour, zeal, and perseverance which we see practised when a system of war is to be carried out, there would doubtless be less anxiety, more security would prevail, and good understanding between nations would rest on a more tangible basis.

There would be more account taken of the disposition to tranquillity and the aversion from war, which is evidently growing among mankind. It would be discovered that men *may* come to know the value of peace. After having long been accustomed to excitement, they may require some time to settle down; but a period may and does arrive, when they appreciate the comforts and advantages of repose. When commerce with all the arts of peace have been cultivated,

it will be ascertained whether mankind, the determining majority of them at least, may not become attached to such an order of things—habit soon superadding its power likewise. And then it might be hoped and expected, that men being led to consider the excellency of spiritual things, by degrees would allow themselves more leisure for the attainment of them, and so come at length to correspond more fully to the end of our being, namely, the living to the glory of God, and for the general good of our fellow-creatures.

Meanwhile, however, amid this backwardness on man's part, to follow in the way which God opens before us, His own work of pacification has been going on; and that by ways which are "not as our ways." Exterminating machines capable of sweeping off whole masses of living beings at once, and repeating their destructive process second by second; the practice of navigation by steam, whereby a given amount of force can be directed against any one point, at any given time, irrespective almost of seasons or of distance; these means of warfare, engendered by discoveries in the progress of human science, must from their very excess soon render war *an impossibility:* so that a state of things seems likely to be induced when wars, embodying as heretofore the entire energies of a people, or of any long duration, cannot be expected to take place.

On another hand, the application of steam to rail-roads is fast drawing together and blending truly into one family the different portions of Europe. It is not easy even to contemplate a state of war, when men shall be able to leave their own metropolis in the

morning, arrive the same day at that of another kingdom, and on the morrow at a third. Neither will it be found (still speaking humanly) very easy, when capitalists shall have entwined and complicated the financial interests of different countries, by the mutual application of funds in the promotion of public works, to sever abruptly such connexions, and to divert resources from those channels into keeping up international warfare. Nations will likewise see more of each other, and those same men who have recently met as friends, may very lawfully feel a disinclination to meeting so quickly as foes.

The good providence of God appears then to have been working by these great visible means towards the tranquillity and happiness of nations. Another work is going on silently in the minds of men generally, who are now coming to the conviction that violence and bloodshed are not the best modes of procuring a real, lasting, well-being. The sudden changes of fortune in our own time do not require that men should go back to past history to find instances of instability in human condition, even the highest; we have been witnesses in our own time how uncertain are all things here below—that all indeed is "vanity and vexation of spirit." Nation has fought against nation, and the laurels of gory fame have been won and lost, shewing that God reigneth, and that He it is who "raiseth up one, and bringeth down the other:" and the great lesson which we have to learn from all this is, that nothing is secure from change, except the favour of God; nothing abiding, save the qualities that pertain to the soul; and that nothing can give

unvarying happiness, save the service and love of God, and love to our neighbour.

During the last quarter of a century, human society, in its great European divisions, has been, so to speak, reconstituting itself upon the enlarged basis of peace, commerce, and the arts of civilized life. Under the auspices of this tranquillity, the institutions which compose its political framework have become generally established and defined. Republicanism with its attendant anarchy has made its efforts, but may now be held to have lost all hope of success. And with this security much material well-being has undoubtedly accrued to the nations. What may be seen and felt as still wanting to crown the whole, to secure that which has hitherto been achieved, and to help onwards to that which has yet to be accomplished, is RELIGION—a true, substantial, effective, Religion,—which, while it cements peace and good neighbourhood among nations long at variance with each other, may also bestow the highest sanction which it is possible for man to obtain in this life to all that can make him truly happy and useful.

The principal feature, unquestionably, at present in society is Christianity. Hence have flowed the greatest advantages which as communities we at this time enjoy: and it is to the *same source* we must look *for those benefits we are still in need of.*

If men have learnt that "the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth"—if they have read His judgments in the cholera, and His dread power in earthquakes—if they have discerned that public events have not proceeded according to their own wisdom, much less happened

according to their folly—it cannot be considered strange if they should seek to discover some similar providential intervention with regard to themselves; that they should wish their families to come under the action of Religion, as well as desire to know something practically themselves of its guidance and influence.

He who administers Justice may well wish that Religion should come in to corroborate the power of the Law in the repression of wickedness, rebellion, or crime. The pursuit of Commerce calls for Religion to hasten in to hallow every increase of wealth, and direct the heart to a right use and distribution of it: in Science, Religion is called for to guard the pursuit of it from ungodly pride, no less than to supply a motive for imparting it higher than the vain praise of men, or unworthy self-interest: it is required to bestow a means of contentment on so many characters, whose energies have, by the cessation of war, been thrown into comparative inactivity; to elevate our thoughts above the emptiness of material things, and raise them to know and feel ourselves truly the children of God, and look upon one another as brethren, and members of one family.

Man has interests, unseen but eternal, which require to be attended to, concerning which he must be satisfied. For God, at the Creation, breathed into man the breath of life, and he became a living soul: the mere material life, therefore, the enjoying sensual things, without any reference to the soul or to eternity, never does wholly satisfy man, nor make him perfectly happy. Nothing short of what embraces his eternal destiny will suffice.

This, then, it is the office of Christianity to supply:

it effected this object when it was first promulgated; it again raised the human character at the period of the Reformation, when there was a revival of its influence: what it has done heretofore, it is able still to effect, for it has never ceased to operate in the same manner on whomsoever has sought aright to know its precepts, and the influence of that Spirit which it teaches us to ask for.

The proper setting forth of the Christian Religion is, therefore, of the utmost moment to society.

Amid the critical analysis which every thing is now made to undergo, it is clearly a duty to consider *how the present religious tendencies may be well directed:* and in looking for a proper, effective instrumentality, whereby the beneficent action of Christianity can be brought to bear for man's individual as well as social well-being and happiness—*we are bound to profit by the lessons of the past,* in order that no dissensions, under pretence of religion, may come in, again to disturb Europe, and derange all those constitutional settlements, which, with so much care and toil, through so much loss and suffering, have been established among the nations.

The principle of mutual concert has already once been acted upon in 1814; when, emerging from the destructive convulsions of the French Revolution, men, affrighted, felt that a bond sanctioned by the invocation of the All-ruling Jehovah was necessary; and an Alliance, denominated "Holy," was formed.

A fact deserving of being borne in mind is, that a great assimilation has since that period taken place in the political constitution of countries throughout

Europe; may we not expect that a corresponding assimilation will happen in Ecclesiastical polity likewise? Harmony is required in the operation of social bodies as well as in physical: no collision or counter movement can occur without injury. Although the nations of Europe are called by one common name, and profess to rely upon one common hope of immortality, yet some of the greatest European contests have had Religion for their origin: we are bound therefore to remove that which stands in the way.

Why may not we, calling ourselves *Christians*, avail ourselves of all the benefit of the Christian bond? and keep so in view this holy connexion, that in the pursuit of what is good and desirable, we shall avoid whatsoever may be injurious to its effects, all that can have an antagonistic, hostile, influence, as well as whatever being defective and insufficient, may bring with it the germs of future dissolution.

What instrumentality is there then to be found for accomplishing the object which thus arises before our view? On whom is the mission to devolve? Looking at the means by which in the South-western portions of Europe Religion can be administered, *Christianity* presents itself chiefly under TWO FORMS: the *non-Episcopal*, embracing all communions called Protestant: and the *Roman Catholic*, or the Churches of those states which acknowledge obedience to the Pope of Rome; from one or other of which we should have to expect the benefits that Religion has to afford to society.

If it should strike the reader that in this consideration England is pretermitted, it is because God has been pleased, in His great goodness, already to establish in

this land a Church after the primitive model, with scriptural doctrines and liturgies, and an Apostolic Order for her Priesthood, capable of conducing to as great an amount of well-being as in this human condition man can attain to. The national prosperity—the prevalence of principle—the promotion of enterprise and industry—the maintenance of domestic morals, of family virtues, of public spirit, and patriotic feeling—all these can most certainly be attributed to the existence of religious truth within her pale, developing its effects during an independent duration of almost three centuries. By means of her National Religion, England calls upon God *as a nation*, and so can draw down NATIONAL BLESSINGS.

We will now proceed to examine successively the individual character of the two systems above mentioned; that we may ascertain whether we can expect to derive from them the benefits which the circumstances of the times call for, and which it is so desirable should be established. And in so doing we shall less indulge in theoretic discussion than have regard to facts in their results; that we may be led into that wisdom, which events happening in the order of God's providence are destined to convey.

I.

THE NON-EPISCOPAL SYSTEM.

Our first object of inquiry then is, whether the non-Episcopal system is capable of supplying the religious wants which are manifesting themselves at the present period.

That the non-Episcopal system has a tendency to democracy, levelling, and insubordination, needs no proof. When the ministers are on an equality; where the idea of a universal Church being excluded, every separate congregation claims to be considered as a distinct Church, independent of every other, there must be a tendency in individuals likewise to think themselves independent one of another. There may be republicanism in religious society, as well as in civil. For the rest, they can judge whose office it has been to legislate for and to direct such bodies. They can tell how arduous to govern, how difficult to keep them together. It must be more than an anomaly, it must be a real injury to the interests of Religion, that *laymen*, whether individually or collectively, should have a right to interfere with those who exercise a ministry of God's Word and Sacraments. Another consideration of the gravest kind is, how quickly small undisciplined religious bodies lapse into principles which are destructive even of human society. Faithful history will attest concerning past times: there are not wanting lamentable instances to warn in our own.

Non-Episcopal communions do not, then, harmonize with the existing social institutions: whatever may be the power of piety exhibited in any individuals, the system itself cannot serve to reconstitute society. The object of Religion is to bind men up together; to be indeed a *religatio*[a]; how can it then be embodied in a system that is disorganising, unsocial? All the institutions of a country must be in harmony; and if we are

[a] Note A. at the end.

to look for a permanent good from them, they must not carry with them the germs of dissolution.

The system must be considered by every impartial reader of history as having had a fair trial on two extensive, national fields, France and England. The so styled National Synods continued to assemble in France during a whole century, namely, from the year 1559, to the year 1660; and what did they effect? and in England, can it be supposed that at the time of the Great Rebellion and of Cromwell's usurpation, the non-Episcopalians did not use their utmost endeavours to keep the domination they had acquired? As regards those two countries, therefore, the question must be looked upon as set entirely at rest; howsoever it may yet be considered in a state of experiment in some countries and districts which have been particularly circumstanced hitherto [b].

The cause of the Reformation, in other words, of revealed truth against Romish error, has suffered detriment on two most important occasions, in which the non-Episcopal system will be found to be concerned. The event which more than any other perhaps has had a disastrous influence upon the destinies of France, is the apostacy of Henry IV. to the Romish faith. As it is well known the king was influenced by considerations of state policy, it may very lawfully be questioned whether he would ever have abased himself to it, if the

[b] Scotland has been sometimes quoted, as a country where non-Episcopal institutions have been able to maintain themselves with advantage. But it must be remembered, however, that in Scotland *almost the whole* of the nobility and of the great proprietary are *Episcopalians:* nor must the stability produced by her union with England be lost sight of.

Reformed communion had been Episcopal, and if he could have hoped that it might ultimately comprehend the whole body of his subjects, when from being solely "Roi de Navarre," he became "Roi de France et de Navarre [c]."

So again, in 1802, when Napoleon Buonaparte restored the public profession of Christianity and the worship of Almighty God, he is found to declare, that he could much more easily have established Protestantism in France than Romanism [d]. What reason, then, can be assigned for his not doing so? saving that as he required the assistance of a Clergy in restoring authority, which as he declared he gathered up out of the kennel, he found the Roman Catholic communion possessing institutions which could help him to reorganize society; whereas the Protestants were without any such institutions. If his words are to be relied on, we can readily conceive what Buonaparte would have made of an Episcopal framework, if the Reformed in France had possessed it: how much more willingly indeed he would have confided the office to them than to a Romish priesthood, whom he could have wished afterwards to be able to set aside.

The evident truth is, that with the non-Episcopalians, the keystone to their edifice is wanting. It is an historical fact, that Christianity came into all these countries *with Bishops*, which discipline characterized

[c] The above thought was with some others communicated by the writer of this to the *Church of England Quarterly Review*, where they appeared in the numbers for July 1840, and July 1841; Articles on Continental Protestantism.

[d] Note B. at the end.

the visible Church from its commencement, and has continued until now. How can it be expected they should attain to the direction of a national Church in a great country? A nation cannot forego its own self, nor lose the consciousness of its prior existence. Their edifice is found dislocated, uncertain, threatening, for want of that keystone—the *Apostolic commission*—of Doctrine and of Authority which was by the Saviour Himself delivered to the Apostles, and by them to their successors until the present day; should the institution be dispensed with, such a safeguard is not departed from with impunity.

The loss is great, to the non-Episcopal communions, in having deprived themselves of the use of those primitive liturgical prayers, the fervent effusions of men who consorted with the Apostles, and the Apostles' immediate successors; it must be a great loss to have dispensed with the Creeds of the first ages; and to have separated themselves altogether so much as they have done from the tangible human testimony of our fellow men, who were eye-witnesses to the glorious Person of the Saviour, beheld His deeds, and who bear witness to His DIVINE NATURE. A door has thus been opened to a denial of our Lord's Divinity, to Arianism and Socinianism, most deadly to man's spirituality, happiness, and true dignity of character here below.

Considering what was the conduct of the Church of Rome towards the non-Episcopalians on the Continent at the time of the Reformation; and the circumstances in which they were then placed by the refusal to convoke a General Council; the situation of the

non-Episcopalians there must always be a subject of regret, on account of the visible Universal Church. Nevertheless, in judging of institutions required for the promotion of Christianity, we are obliged to consider which are they that harmonize with the fundamental principles of human society, and that may be helpful to good order and government.

Let us now enquire into the fitness of the Church of Rome, to supply the wants that are appearing at the present period.

II.

THE ROMISH SYSTEM.

The question as to the fitness or unfitness of the Church of Rome to supply the religious wants arising at the present period, might be decided by the religious state in general of countries under her obedience: it will be proper however to produce some more specific grounds in coming to the conclusion of *her unfitness.*

The question here proposed has long ago obtained a solution with persons who have had right means of judging, how new soever it may still be to the consideration of others who have not had the benefit of similar opportunities.

It has been declared on a recent occasion[f], that the Church of Rome is both Heretical and Schismatical; and on this ground she is unqualified for reconstituting the religious elements of society.

The Church of Rome is *Heretical* with regard to the revealed Truth contained in the Scriptures, having

[f] See "What is the Church?" pp. 29, 31, and 17.

not only perverted points of doctrine, but likewise added others to be believed which cannot be proved by clear testimony of Holy Writ. The same Church is *Schismatical* in respect to the entire body of the Church Catholic, from having refused to hold herself responsible to a General Council lawfully summoned, and from having packed a Council, not a general one, by a supposed delegation of whose authority she now usurps a primacy over other Churches, and continues to act without a General Council.

The Christian Religion is called in the present day to exercise an action upon society for its restoration to a sounder state, but how is it possible that the Church of Rome can serve as an instrumentality to that end, while she fosters abuses and errors that are repulsive and inadmissible? and while a priesthood acting by her authority, exercise an influence incompatible with the Church's general well-being, no less than with each particular nation's prosperity? This requires briefly to be shewn.

Among the errors and abuses which may be attributed to Rome, we will first notice her *unscriptural* and *repulsive practices.*

§. 1. *Heretical Practices.*

The Romish communion allows and encourages veneration for Images—a slippery path—whereon though practised intellects may not always sustain injury, yet the uncultured and ignorant must stumble and fall. This practice is promoted more or less grossly, in proportion as the culture of the population in

different countries will admit. For instance, the respect paid to images may not perhaps amount to idolatry in the majority of the Roman Catholics of England, (who nevertheless do invoke a great company of mediators;) but let the result of image worship be declared by those who have seen its working among less enlightened populations, where gross, benighted minds may truly be said not to extend their view beyond the object before them of wood or of stone[g]. Particular veneration is also paid to some particular image *as such;* and special miraculous powers are ascribed to *that* figure, before and independently of all others.

These things are not any secret. They are known to all those who have remarked the superstitious abasement which the practice engenders. Can sensible men be expected then to go into such practices? The result shews they *will* not: and they consequently remain strangers to religious *practices* of every kind.

Why are the pulpits of the Romish communion avowedly so powerless as a means of operating upon the populations? not for want of ability in the preachers, but because so much error is intermingled with truth, that *men* will not repair to the teaching. There are minds which can be kept puerile by the inculcation of legends, just as there are dispositions to be abased by confidence in relics, amulets, &c. substituted for communion with and reliance upon the Eternal Jehovah, "the Father of the spirits of all flesh," "in whom we live and move and have our being." But those intellects, those dispositions which *cannot* be so subjugated, what becomes of them? Do they not repudiate the

[g] See note C. at the end.

Christian Religion altogether, and remain strangers to the benefits she bestows because of the corrupt practices of some of her teachers? In the same manner likewise with regard to Baptism, Marriage, and the Burial of the Dead, is not the benefit that should be derived from such sacred rites lamentably impaired, irretrievably damaged, by the practice of administering them in a dead language, which the *people* generally do *not* understand?

The Sacraments and other Christian rites are, so to speak, rallying points with which, as we pass through this world of material things, our spiritual interests are to be connected; their efficiency, solemnity, and sincerity, it is therefore of the utmost importance to preserve and exhibit. Herein, through the use of her dead tongue, is the Church of Rome grievously deficient as well as culpable. The Baptismal engagement *must* remain so much the more misunderstood and inefficacious, as the prayer of faith has had no echo in the bosom of all the persons present. The sacred character of the Marriage bond must the more be lost sight of, as the religious benediction has degenerated into meaningless shew and mummery; whence an excuse is made for remaining content with a civil contract only, and by one step further those irregular unions are contracted, unsanctioned by any law, unblessed by any rite, which cast upon society its most pernicious element[h].

The Funeral ceremony, so calculated to be a means of edification and spiritual good to the survivors, by the use of an unknown tongue is lost as a fit oppor-

[h] See note D.

tunity for setting forth that everlasting life, to which, through God's great mercy, we are called; while the way is opened for dispensing with all religious rite whatever, an oration often displaying earthly considerations in the place where heavenly objects and destinies should be set forth.

These evils, besides *numberless others*, flow from the un-catholic, un-apostolic practice of using a dead tongue not understood by the people. All the superstitions and absurdities which it serves as a cover for, it would be both too long and too painful to enter upon.

Can we then greatly wonder, if, in Roman Catholic countries, wherever men have sufficient freedom, they wholly abstain from taking any part in religious ceremonies? so that in large places, like Paris, for instance, there exists such a state of things, that numbers of persons might be found who are born and who die without engaging in any act of religion which can influence the soul and its relation with God, or which can make them partakers in the consolations of the Christian Religion.

The Services being such that men will not attend, *even when there is a sermon* it is not heard by those to whom it ought particularly to be addressed, heads of families of every grade, and persons who have the government of affairs. No warning voice tells them of their dread account as responsible creatures, nor exhorts the thoughtless sinner to flee from the wrath to come: no faithful ambassador sets forth God's message of mercy, exhorting them in Christ's stead to be reconciled unto God, inviting them to another and a better country, our real home, whither the Son of God

has Himself entered before to prepare the place, that where He is, all those who know Him and serve Him may be there likewise. How many workmen are known to continue their ordinary occupations *on the Sunday*, because they will not be exposed to the temptations of dissipation or intemperance, as they would be were they to discontinue their work, there being no worship they are willing to attend! Supposing such persons do go to Mass; that ceremony, if a "low Mass," (as it is termed,) may be despatched in half an hour, very often in a much shorter time. But even such a service not being plain and intelligible, not being embraced by the understanding, has no influence upon the heart. It may create a vague feeling of awe, excite a momentary religiousness; but what lasting effect does it leave upon the life and character? Supposing men to attend what is called "high Mass," a greater degree of pomp may amaze or dazzle more; but, alas! unfruitful alike; and, unless it is a love for music that attracts, tedious and wearisome. Then, the afternoon Service is composed of the singing of some Psalms, in Latin, called "Vespers," with certain Hymns, also in Latin, called "Benediction," from the practice of blessing with the host or consecrated wafer, when it is exhibited surrounded by lighted tapers. This has, indeed, a very attractive appearance as the day declines; but what has all this to do with the soul, with the want of pardon for sin, and heavenly favour, with the desire for spiritual light, knowledge, and developement? What amount of heartfelt interest can reasonably be expected in behalf of such services from sensible people, even well-disposed towards Religion?

There are, indeed, some sincere men found to bear with them for religion's sake, and some patriotic men for their country's sake, and many worthy men for example's sake, that they may not be a stumblingblock to others: but what is the painful fact? the *mass of the people* are not found taking any interest whatever in religion; and as it is from large towns that the general character of a country is usually gathered, it comes to be said that a nation is without religion[i].

Neither is there any thing in the early education of youth that is likely in general to counterbalance these deficiencies. When young (I am speaking again of the great majority of persons) the child is taken to a church, where at the distance of thirty, fifty, or a hundred yards, he hears little of what he understands nothing at all. At the still tender age of twelve or thirteen, he makes what is called "his first communion:" after attending for a while at Catechism and Confession, he is admitted to the awful ceremony of receiving the wafer, (which is intended to represent the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.) Their religious education is then looked upon as complete: and according to their class of life, they are thought fit to be put to some trade or occupation; and so they enter the world. They go forth from that vague, mystical teaching into the realities of life; its temptations, allurements, passions, trials, and difficulties beset them: how small, alas! is the amount of religious principle they have to fall back upon! they reject the confessional; few men indeed are found who consent to have recourse to it: the Sunday is spent in the usual manner;

[i] See note E.

going to church is not even thought of: nothing more is seen of the priest, unless a severe illness or the approach of death causes him sometimes to be summoned to the bedside.

Such are the disastrous results of the Romish system. It avails itself of the feeling of a want of religion, as well as of the respect for the doctrines of "forgiveness of sins and everlasting life," which Christianity presents, to commit individuals in their early years, before they can understand the nature of what they engage in; and this is taken advantage of at some subsequent period of life, or at their last moments. What has filled up the interval, is, perhaps, the effect produced by those processions which, especially in the south of Europe, exhibit all that can strike and captivate the senses—the floating of banners, the smoke of incense, the waving of palms, the pomp of dress, the charm of music, every thing in short that can please and dazzle the outer man: and on such occasions you see individuals coming and bowing the knee, who, alas! seem to consider, that by this one act of image worship, performed once a year, they practise religion enough. It is enough to testify of their adhesion to the system, and suffices for the priest to be called in sometimes at the last hour, to anoint the perhaps unconscious body. The feelings of mourning friends may in some degree be assuaged, but how has such a religion as this enabled the individual himself to walk with God during his life, and now to close his eyes in a peaceful hope of a blessed immortality? What lasting effect has it produced upon his character? how made him to be led by the

Spirit of God? the effect which scriptural prayer and preaching would have had.

Thus is the purpose of religion frustrated; and from this deficiency of personal religion springs a multiplicity of evils, the climax of which is discovered in those appalling *suicides*—not born of disease, but gratuitous, desperate, springing from evil influences reigning in a heart unfilled by the love of God, unrestrained by any fear of God!

How deplorable, especially, the frequent instances of young men, just entering upon life, possessing every thing that is calculated to make existence happy,—kind, amiable, talented, highly gifted, in short, with every accomplishment, yet deficient in that which alone can stamp a value on all the rest! Perhaps they have tried dissipation, but misnamed pleasures soon have palled; varied or multiplied gratifications and luxuries have failed in satisfying their soul. Have they pursued with ardour either science or literature, making these pursuits, so to speak, their God? these, too, have been insufficient for their souls' cravings; fame, with all the applause of men, is found an empty bubble. Or they may have rushed headlong into the career of ambition; when one expectation after another has failed, one delusion after another has been broken: the contentment which with piety is "great gain" was not theirs: witnessing in so many cases the total absence of principle, the little influence exercised by religion in any around them, they begin to lose confidence in principle of every kind, and soon disbelieve the reality of truth, uprightness, or piety; they find nothing in

the world worth living for, nothing about which their sympathies, their convictions, can entwine with satisfaction or with safety—and then (O bitter thought!) they hurry out of existence by their own hand! with all the soul's transgressions still upon it, and unendued with that clothing of heavenly righteousness, which can be attained to in the Christian covenant [k]!

Thus are men—immortal souls, beings beyond all humanly estimable value, themselves called to be acquainted with happiness here below, and to become a blessing to those around them—lost, for want of a teaching which should *faithfully and intelligibly* deliver the great message which the Son of God has committed unto His Church, namely, Forgiveness of sins, and Everlasting Life *in His name.*

There is another practice of the Church of Rome which should not remain unnoticed, for it strongly militates against general favour and acceptance; and that is *the captation* employed to bring subjects over and commit them to her system. Daughters seduced from their fathers; sons taken away from their mothers; inducements of interest, marriage, and every other the most unworthy means used to entice and entangle the weakminded, the ignorant, the unsuspecting, the sick, or the dying. Surely all this can never hope to find acceptance as religion; for such conduct is *not* social; it is not even human! it must inevitably destroy confidence, however it may have a momentary appearance of success, (and *poor indeed* is often the triumph thereby obtained!) for it will lead persons to think, that they who

[k] See note F.

descend to the practice of such arts can have little hope of seeing their system prosper by plain, honest means[1].

§. 2. *Heretical Doctrines.*

While such are the errors and abuses in that which is most apparent, namely, the *practices* of the Romish Church; her *doctrine* also, regarding spiritual matters, will be found heretical, having departed from the sole standard of truth, the Holy Scriptures.

And first, as regards man's communion with God in this our present state; how is spiritual life—the soul's spiritual communion, and feeding on heavenly things, whereby CHRIST is formed in us, and our bodies become, as the Scripture declares, "the temples of the Holy Ghost"—how is this heavenly doctrine, this "hope of glory," degraded and brought down to a material manducation, through the perverted and idolatrous doctrine of *transubstantiation!* The Eternal JEHOVAH (O blasphemy! for the mere mention of which we need to ask for forgiveness!) transubstantiated into a wafer of paste! Must we wonder that multitudes of persons, nominally Romanists, seeking in the whole range of those faculties with which God has endowed them for some power to comprehend the "wafer God," reject the absurd impiety? The pity is, however, that they thereby become diverted also from the benefit of true spiritual communion with God in Christ, and receive not that unction of the Holy Spirit, which could produce a renovating, sanctifying effect upon them.

In the next place, as regards man's connexion with

[1] See note G.

the invisible world, how do we behold in the Romish system that *mediation of the Son of God*, for which He assumed our nature that He might make us kings and priests unto God; how do we see that connexion which He came to teach and to establish, whereby we cry, "Abba! Father!" a divine plan, worthy of Jehovah's greatness and goodness, set aside, to make place for a debased plan of mediation through mere human beings, sinful like ourselves, that is to say, the *Invocation of Saints!*

A further order of communion with the invisible world has been devised in the doctrine of *Purgatory;* by means of which the Church of Rome renders man himself a mediator, ascribing to him, in truth, a power of reaching into the world to come, and interfering there with God's fixed decrees: for all which no warrant whatever can be found throughout the whole of the Scriptures recognised by the universal Church as Canonical: while in practice it has degenerated into an ignoble fiscal expedient.

What must be the standing of such a Church in the eyes of thinking men at the present day, who may not, it is true, be theologians, yet who have information and common sense enough to discover that such doctrines are *not* scriptural and primitive, but novel, unreasonable, and fantastical. They have at least theology enough to be able to judge that such doctrines as "Mary conceived without sin," concerning which the Pope bombastically grants Briefs, commanding superstitious services to be observed, cannot be *real* Christianity. Will it be forgotten that it was the enacting "the Law of Sacrilege" in France in 1819,

whereby the punishment of death was established for those who should violate or insult the host or consecrated wafer, which *first aroused* the attention of jurists, publicists, and men of understanding throughout the country, to take a stand against the rapid growth of such Ultramontane proceedings, and ultimately brought to pass those checks which Romanism experienced in 1828 and 1830?

We have now seen, that whether through abusive usages or erroneous doctrine the Church of Rome is not calculated to be truly national: by usages which though outwardly often pleasing or seductive, yet which tested by truth and sober religion are absurd and repulsive, she alienates, while the true power of Christianity, which is *its spirituality*, is impaired by doctrines unsanctioned by Revelation. Hence then the Romish Church is not in a position to profit by events such as visitations, &c. that would lead men to be religious. What must be considered the character of a communion which the great majority of its members virtually throw off, as soon as they come of years to exercise their own judgment, and ascertain that its doctrine and practices are not in accordance with either Reason or Scripture?

These causes which shew the Church of Rome's unfitness to benefit society as it at present requires, are borne out by results on many most important points. Let us take, for instance, the case of *Penal Settlements*. In order to keep up a due improvement in society, it is indispensable that the evil leaven of convicted criminals should be got rid of. Since they cannot all be cut off by the punishment of death, an evident means of rejecting them is by removal. Penal settlements are

therefore required, having a proper machinery both civil and religious. Now I am not aware that any Roman Catholic country has such colonies in operation. Certainly we do not hear talk of Roman Catholic penal settlements in the world: neither have I heard that the Romish ecclesiastics have been anxiously calling for them, as one of the most effectual means for counteracting that wickedness, against which the office of the Christian Church is to set herself, and to combat. What is the reason of this? It is evident that in such a colony, the power of religion to act on the heart is closely and thoroughly tested: there can be no equivocation here as to the positive results of any system. What is required to be known therefore is, whether Romanism be a system that can stand this test? whether it shews itself really efficient in *reclaiming* men, in fulfilling a ministry of reconciliation towards God, and of sincere lasting change before their fellow-creatures, so as to correspond to the hopes of Christian philanthropists, and truly to carry out the endeavours of the State to render those spared existences available to the great end of our being, as well as helpful, ultimately, to the prosperity of the country which has been compelled to reject them from her bosom? And the question further is, does Romanism tend to form at home such subjects, as, affording the guarantee of Religion, can with safety and satisfaction be looked to for directing and governing those colonies? The archives of certain administrations of Justice and of Marine, might perhaps furnish us with materials for judging.

Meanwhile, year after year, in France, the contents

of the gaols and of the *bagnes* (hulks) is turned again upon society, with, it may be said, no countervailing influence besides the *surveillance* of the police over the occupation and residence of the *libérés*. Yet there *does* exist a power which operates upon the human heart; not the *word* of man, nor the *devices* of man, but the Word of God, proclaiming a plan of mercy, forgiveness, and love towards sinners; the sincere administration of which can alone awaken, touch, subdue, and change.

The same causes operate against the success of all *colonization*. We have seen how the Romish form renders ineffective public worship, that great and primary bond among persons in the position of colonists; neither does such an unintelligible form prepare the way for the setting up the family altar, that other powerful auxiliary and pledge of harmony, obedience, affection, and of so many other virtues, domestic as well as social. Besides which, that type of good government, *the family*, is absent in its best incorporation; the *Romish* ecclesiastic is *unmarried*. He cannot influence therefore by the multifarious example of his household; and what is any colony without the due ingredient of pastoral influence and ministration? It may have a temporary existence, but it possesses no guarantee of duration.

Having touched upon the subject of the *celibacy of the Clergy*, we will add one word. Let the evils which this point of Romish discipline has produced be *fairly and fearlessly* contemplated; not limiting our view to its effects in distant times, but considering the religious changes and political convulsions which in certain

countries it has fundamentally been the occasion of even in our own; and no impartial, moral man will be found that shall not desire the application of that rule of Pope Boniface VIII. "On ne doit pas tenir les promesses qui sont contre les bonnes mœurs[m]." Celibacy in the Clergy gives a sanction to it in others, and so brings discredit on the honourable state of marriage. Also their binding themselves by perpetual vows is, practically, the great hindrance to any country's confiding to them the general education of youth.

§. 3. *The Church of Rome Schismatical.*

We have in the next place to consider how the Church of Rome's *schismatical* position impedes her usefulness and efficiency at the present period.

The Bishops of Rome pretend to be responsible to no tribunal; by artifice they have gradually set themselves over other Patriarchs and Bishops, and even over General Councils of the Church.

It is impossible that men who have their country's well-being at heart should not feel on this account: they may refrain from setting about to oppose it; but every reflecting mind perceives that it must be disadvantageous to a state to displace *any portion* of supreme authority out of that state; or to leave such vital interests as are the religious interests, open to an alien influence. It *must* be important, should the hierarchy feel *any degree* of indifference as to shaping their course according to the *real* wants, wishes, and feelings of the nation, and should prefer following some

[m] "Règles de Droit publiées par Boniface VIII. en 1298."

anti-national policy, in support of a separate interest, and out of obedience to a foreign superior. The cause of Religion itself becomes injured by this state of things, and the usefulness of the Clergy both as teachers of religion and as citizens is circumscribed and lessened.

It might possibly appear to some theoretically indifferent that the Bishops of one country should own as their ecclesiastical superior the patriarch of another; but *practically* it has been found impossible to hinder an aggressive, domineering action on the part of the latter: in a word, *Romanism* has universally degenerated into *Popery*. Whatever difference may be found in the terms, they lead finally to one and the same thing: connexion with Rome will bring under the domination of Rome. Rome does not content herself with a mere nominal fealty; the Pope has a militia, the *Society of Jesuits*, whose very existence is bound up with power and direction. The only way to be entirely free from the evil is to sever the connexion altogether. Let faithful history declare what it was that heretofore distracted kingdoms, engendered civil strife, bloodshed, and change of dynasties, save the influence of the peculiarities of the see of Rome; it is *not* religion in itself as national, indigenous, destined to benefit mankind, that has arrayed citizens in arms one against another.

Romanism presents itself with the prestige of long continued authority, and with the high tone of pretended infallibility and exclusive Catholicity; it feigns to forget all the evils it has occasioned, all the checks it has received, and is again trying to make its Ultramontanism supersede every other influence. The in-

troduction from Italy of such novel superstitions as the worship of the "sacred hearts of Jesus and of Mary," has no other object than this. Let Rulers bethink themselves in time, and cut short these sources of fanaticism, ere they engender a phase of infidelity worse than any former. The faults of the past have served as warnings in politics; must it be in what regards religion alone that men will not learn wisdom, and seek out the old and safe paths?

The influence of the Bishops of Rome became consolidated over Western Europe at a time when the Barbarians who occupied these countries were settling down into habits of civilized life. The remains of the old Roman civilization came in to aid these pretensions; almost all the clerks or lettered men in the middle ages were ecclesiastics, protected by a religious habit. "Lay persons," says Fleury, "and Princes especially, were totally ignorant, and could not act without their counsel. The Chancellors and Ministers of State were usually Bishops or Abbots; they were the judges in almost all matters[n]." The bringing again to light of the Pandects or Code of the old Roman legislation, about the year 1137, caused the study of Civil Law to spread all over Europe, and thereby tended to confirm this domination; and the subsequent revival of literature and the arts in Italy, gave new efficacy to the Italian preponderancy, and consequently to the power of the

[n] "Les laïques, principalement les princes, étant entièrement ignorants, ne pouvaient se passer de leur conseil. C'était les évêques ou les abbés qui étaient les chancelliers et les ministres d'état; ils étaient les juges presque de toutes les affaires." *Mœurs des Chrétiens*, Part IV. c. 64.

Bishop of Rome. It was the constant policy of the Popes to avail themselves of quarrels among Princes, in order to increase their own influence; until, at the time the Reformation commenced, that colossal fabric of power was beheld, which then was shaken by the mighty force of truth, and which has gone on diminishing and being weakened ever since.

It were no unfit nor unprofitable subject of meditation to consider how the order of Jesuits should have been permitted to exist; whether it be as a retribution upon teachers and rulers for any dilatoriness or timidity in asserting the revealed truth of God, when opportunity has been afforded them. Hereafter it will doubtless be revealed in what way that notorious company of men, supposed to be lost amid the effects of the great French Revolution, has reappeared, like some insect from its hidden larvæ after one generation has been swept away. As to their history in France of late years, it is asserted that they came in from Italy about the year 1812, by the department of the upper Alps. They first appeared as a teaching body, under the name of *Pères de la Foi*. Their first establishment or College was at Forcalquier, where by means of the confessionals they soon obtained pupils. Thence they spread themselves over Provence and Languedoc, rapidly influencing the ardent temperaments of the people of the South. As they possessed greater knowledge and zeal than the Clergy that had been restored by Buonaparte, whose education had necessarily been neglected, they recommended themselves as assistants to the Parochial Clergy in towns; and after the general peace the ablest among them went through the country

as home Missionaries. In many of the Dioceses they found means to have the "petits séminaires," or preparatory schools for educating boys destined for the priesthood, put into their hands. They continued to affiliate numbers of persons, devotees and others, to their order. They displayed enterprise and audacity; many of the Bishops being won over to their views admitted near them a Jesuit adviser, in the person of the "Directeur du Grand Séminaire;" meanwhile the "petits séminaires" changed their character, and became schools for many hundreds of pupils, where dancing, fencing, and other worldly acquirements were taught. The footing they had been able to obtain at Court rendered their intrigue powerful and even fashionable. Men high in office became affiliated to their society; they exercised such a patronage, that places, from the highest to those of the least importance, were bestowed at their recommendation. They were able to circumvent the declining age of Louis XVIII. and brought his last years into disrepute and ridicule, not to say contempt; and his successor Charles X. began his reign in 1825, and in 1830 this Ultramontane influence had consummated the ruin of his dynasty. As the Jesuits themselves act upon a principle of dispensing with whatever they think fit, provided it can advance the interests of their order; so Charles X. thought (as James II. of England had done before him) that he might dispense with the established constitution of the country; and not only he himself lost his crown, but he involved in want and ruin hundreds of families.

Two years previously, namely in 1828, when the Ministry of M. de Villèle gave place to that of M. de

Martignac, the latter took cognizance of the proceedings of the Jesuits. M. Frayssinous, Bishop of Hermopolis, then Minister of Public Instruction, (who had joined the Ultramontanes in their movement,) being asked publicly in his place in the Chamber of Peers, whether the Jesuits existed as a society in France, could not deny it, but answered in the affirmative. Steps were immediately taken by the Crown Officers for having the laws of the country enforced, which prohibit religious Orders. The Jesuits' houses or colleges, together with all those monastic societies which under their auspices were beginning to shew themselves on all sides, were suppressed by Royal Ordonnance, and the "petits séminaires," those powerful engines for influence over all the country, were taken out of their hands, and committed to other priests not so avowedly of their Order.

Since that time they have existed, but not openly and as a body. A great part of their members went into Spain, and hastened on a crisis in the affairs of that country, whereby they have themselves been obliged to seek for another and a safer scene of action. They have therefore fallen back upon England and Ireland, unwillingly to a great degree we must suppose, for they know the British Constitution in Church and State is as a suit of complete armour protecting the country, by means of which they have before been worsted. However, they are busily engaged in damaging it; by applying all those resources which they obtain through the terrors of dying republicans, the weakness of the superstitious, or the hopes of fanatic ambition, to try to shake the truth of God, and those great securities for

public happiness which are enshrined in these realms. They ply every intrigue in order to sow division, to stir up discontent and rebellion, that they may establish their own power. It is their servants and pupils, whom they could not otherwise find employment for in Europe, that have gone out as Missionaries to the Islands of the Pacific; introducing themselves first of all in the character of artisans or small traders; but coming out afterwards as ecclesiastics, as soon as they found they might do so without danger; even going further, and proclaiming themselves the assertors of the *national interests* of some country which was able to protect them, and which they thought might consent to profit by their occult services °.

And not in Great Britain only, but in every country on the continent, is this party now labouring assiduously to advance the influence of the see of Rome, that is to say, their own, to the detriment and overthrow of the authority of the Bishops in the different nationalities. Many persons who witness the aggressive operations of Romanism at the present day, are not at all aware of the existence of this Ultramontane or Jesuits' influence; some who have *heard of it* can scarcely be brought to believe that it does really exist: hence they invest the proceedings of Romanism with much terror and alarm, and exaggerate its reported progress. Whereas they who know the true source of all those efforts, and can discern and follow the agency, dread not the Jesuits' utmost efforts in opposition to God's truth: knowing that He against whose true cause they are so blindly and wickedly exerting themselves, is

° See note H.

faithful, if we are but faithful to Him. Vainly are the most captivating popish engravings brought over to England in the hope, as the Romanists express it, that they shall be able "once more to lay hold on society by means of the Arts;" they may make use of beneficence as a pretext for introducing their machinery of convents, sisterhoods of charity, &c. but their efforts will be abortive, and only issue in disappointment to themselves, provided we are careful to fulfil our sphere of duties with harmony and with charity one towards another, and hasten to shew by our zeal and constancy that we do not require to be provoked to emulation by any such pernicious, *anti-national*, auxiliaries. Some of the English Romanists may speedily discover how unworthy a position they occupy in the eyes of the world as purveyors and auxiliaries to the Jesuits' designs.

It must be evident, that while connexion with the see of Rome continues, there can be no expectation that the Christian religion will exercise any greater efficiency for good among the populations subject to her obedience. The presenst system must endure until a spirit truly Catholic and truly National shall prevail, which shall vindicate God's truth with the institutions that protect it; in a word, until *National Catholicity* shall leave no place in all Europe, out of Italy, for Ultramontanism to nestle and thrive in.

Let it, moreover, be borne in mind, that *none ever trusted to this influence that did not become its victims*— whether COUNTRIES OR DYNASTIES.

A feeling of nationality prevailed in France, in connexion with Religious matters, during a part of Louis the Fourteenth's reign, but this being gradually sur-

rendered, the Ultramontane influence became paramount. Then was witnessed that most cruel persecution of Jansenist recluses—the extinction, it may be termed, of the last effulgence of Christian truth in the Church of Rome[P]—occasioned by the same influence which caused the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, a measure that not only drove out of the country industry and capital, but brought on a *moral* penury, bankruptcy, and ruin.

For when the Jansenists' effort to spread Scripture light had been suppressed; when the Hugonots were barbarously expelled, children torn from their parents to be committed to Romish teaching, and when the *dragonnades* had done their sanguinary work—then did Romanism reign supreme over that great and fine country. The priesthood exercised unrestrained power and control; they directed every thing at their pleasure, and possessed every means and opportunity of bringing the people to any state they might have been able. Yet what was the consequence? to what did their Ceremonies, Latin prayers, Monasteries, Fraternities, and Nunneries conduct the nation? The state in which Religion was at the time the great French Revolution broke out is well known; indeed so fearful a convulsion could not have taken place, except in the general absence of all religion. It is true the Order of the Jesuits had been expelled in 1764, chiefly through the energy of the judicatory of the land; but the mischief was already done; a flood of infidelity had come in as a natural consequence of absurdity and error, the barrier of the fear of God and of the power of His Truth was

[P] See note I.

removed. And then, when the people had come to despise the priests and to reject religion; when, excited by causes of different kinds, a torrent of fierce passions burst forth—there was no power in the country to oppose it: the men who might, humanly speaking, have been able to stay its course; men possessing that energy which religious convictions and principle can impart, were deficient; they had been put down; there was no power of resistance moral or religious,—and the torrent swept onwards, destroying not only the throne, but every support of the social fabric; leaving behind a spectacle of desolation, bloodshed, and ruin!

Over this, the saddest page, perhaps, which history has had to record, would that a thick veil could be drawn once and for ever! Why then is it recalled here? Because the corrupt system of Romanism has to be made accountable for these terrible evils. It was Romanism which engendered that infidelity, one of whose first deeds was to destroy its own parent. Rome and her mummeries must be made answerable for the impieties of the "Goddess of Reason;" for the abolition of the worship of Almighty God; for the attempted suppression of the seventh day—that Sabbath which has stood since the creation of the world, a memorial of God's wonderful power and great goodness towards man; and for all the other lamentable impieties of that period. Let her not lay these things to the charge of our corrupt, fallen nature alone: Romanism withholds that which has power to control and to amend: and they who passed the decree abolishing the Christian religion in France, were acquainted with Christianity only under its *Romish form*. How shall she be excul-

pated by those who, being young at the time we speak of, received no religious instruction whatever; and who, had her teaching been different, would not now find themselves without that which they can feel to be so valuable? And, as for the past, so neither for the present, will she be excused for keeping back from the people the simple teaching of the only True and Living GOD, and of our soul's "life and immortality" which has been set forth to light for us by CHRIST the Son of God; which is the knowledge that can make men wise unto salvation, and leads to that piety which has the promise of the world that now is, and of the world that is to come.

Here then we behold the consequences of a country's being wholly abandoned to the guidance and government of the Romish system, and of having given up the principle of *nationality* connected with *true catholicity*. Romanism has *not* changed: what it has heretofore produced, it is working again to engender. And the same influence which ruins nations, can paralyze aristocracies; and will infallibly destroy any dynasty which may have either the credulity or the temerity to place itself under its control. Although nations do not, like dynasties, pass away: yet what ordeals have they to go through on account of the faults of rulers! and what a fearful retribution is that which ofttimes rests upon the latter!

Ought any sovereign ever to forget, (ought any ever to have forgotten!) that it was priests *in connexion with the see of Rome* who at the meeting of the "Etats Généraux" in 1789, were the first to go and unite with the *tiers état*, that first step towards destroying the

equilibrium of the then existing constitution? They may pretend to favour now despotism, now republicanism; but it is all with one end in view, namely, the advancement of their own power and projects. They may hold out to governments the prospect of regaining possession of such a province, or of revolting such a kingdom, or of seizing on such an island: but what is done through their means may not always be very safe and definitive: nor simply for the advancement of a *public* interest, so much as for the furtherance of a *private* and *antinational* one. Have they not been found, even lately, fanning diligently the embers of war in Europe; recklessly bent on setting nations at variance, at whatsoever cost or damage, provided thereby their own end might be gained of weakening any power which stands in their way?

The evils we have here been contemplating are great and positive; whereas any benefits to be derived from the Pope's supposed office as judge of controversies, are very problematical, and not to be put in comparison with those evils. The criterion after all will be this: How does a particular system answer the purpose of administering revealed religion, both as regards countries and individuals? let the fruits of the Romish system be brought to this test. To which of the countries under the Pope's obedience are we to look for the great benefits arising from the Pope's being judge of controversy in matters of faith? What is the quiet that reigns in those countries, save the silence of the barren wilderness? what is their concord, save the concord of the tomb? Shall we be directed to turn our eyes to any of the countries of the Old world,

where unbelief is threatening to choke up religion altogether? and where the great prevalency of corrupt tenets and practices renders it so difficult for confidence in revealed religion, and a love for spiritual things to be revived? Or is it to any one of those countries of the New world, where civil strife, (to say no more,) apparently interminable, shews how completely the influence of Religion is thrown aside?

Or it is to Italy we must look—where the Pope's own patrimony is situated—as exhibiting the type of what a Christian country ought to be? and is her state both moral and religious, to be taken as a specimen of what the fullest, freest, and most unrelaxed application of the Romish system can bring a nation to?

Let us drop a tear, alas! over the direful fruits of such a system; and as we are seeking for benefits to society from religious institutions, we must conclude that such are not attainable through connexion with the see of Rome: if results truly profitable and permanent are desired, they must be sought for elsewhere.

III.

NATIONAL CATHOLICITY.

What then is to be done? if we are to respond to God's merciful designs in maintaining peace; and if the religious wants which manifest themselves at the present time, are to be supplied in a proper manner?

Evidently there must be a renouncement of whatever has been found by experience to be either insufficient or hurtful; and there must be *a return to those primitive doctrines* and *practices* wherein true

Catholicity consists: Holy Scripture abiding as the *sole source* of all essential doctrine; to which, likewise, all practices are to be referred, to try whether they are in accordance with its spirit.

And first with respect to doctrine, an honest adherence to the early Symbols of Faith, such as are the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, would set aside the many later interpretations and inventions, which have been so heaped upon revealed truth as to cover and well nigh to ruin it altogether. These Creeds shew us what the faith of the Early Church was, how it understood the Scriptures; and an adherence to them would enable men to throw off the bitterness of controversy; likewise would shew that we are truly a continuation of that same visible Church.

As it is essential to the Church's very existence that there should be believers; and as the elements of belief can be apprehended only through the faculties of our intelligence, it follows necessarily that the religious exercises which men are called to engage in, must be in a language they can understand. "Faith cometh by hearing," says St. Paul; and the piety of individuals must have its expression, be nurtured, and increase, through the medium of services which they can truly understand and join in. The primitive custom was no other than this; the prayers used by the first Christians were in the language of their respective countries, and intelligible to the majority of those present at them. Latin, being the language of the Romans, came into use in these western parts of their empire; and so long as the dialects which were formed at the breaking up of their power remained imperfect, there may have existed

a pretence for celebrating public worship in a fixed though dead tongue. Now, however, when the different languages of Europe have long since possessed their own laws and literature; when every day a knowledge of them is getting more spread and more widely interchanged; it must be admitted that an undeniable claim is made out on behalf of populations generally to have "common prayer" in a language which all can understand; and which if any have not been adequately instructed in, this might even be a means of helping them to learn. This all Christian people have a right to, if the Apostle's precept is to be observed, that, in going up in a spirit of prayer, men should "pray with the *understanding* also." To deprive them of this bespeaks a sinful disregard to their highest and most precious interests.

By recurring, therefore, to the copious stores of the early Liturgies, we meet with a form of public worship, truly "common" to all, as all not only can understand, but according to the usage of primitive times are to take a part in it, exercising thus a privilege as members of Christ's Church. Those Liturgies will supply services at once scriptural, fervent, full, and edifying; by which can be rendered to Almighty God a worship "in spirit and in truth," as He who is a Spirit will be worshipped; all uniting their voices in accents of prayer, praise, and thanksgiving, confessing together their sins, and supplicating together for newness of heart, pardon, peace, and joy by the Holy Spirit: when each can hear in his own dear native tongue the wonderful works of God read from the Inspired Volume; and psalms, not in an unknown language, have power truly and

profitably to raise the soul to feelings of confidence and hope, attuning us to heavenly thoughts and desires; where a hymn, such as the *Te Deum*, offers for our edification all the sublime and touching truths of religion; and where Doxologies exercise us continually in ascribing glory to JEHOVAH in the manner in which He has been pleased to reveal Himself to us as God "the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." In following the primitive pattern, the worship derives an especial character from the audible and intelligible reading of the Scriptures; and that to such an amount, that the teaching of religious truth gently distils into the heart of the worshipper; not leaving the *preacher's discourse* to be every thing. It is presented likewise with such an admirable method, that no part of revealed truth remains neglected; and moreover the believer is enabled to realise the great *facts* upon which his religion rests.

In a worship truly Catholic, the law of God as contained in the Decalogue can be proclaimed in the hearing of the people; teaching them to beware of making any image of Him who is "invisible;" for He who is the Great "I AM," the self-existing God, will be provoked to jealousy by any attempted representation that is made of Him[q]. What other voice so well as that from Sinai can command them to dethrone every idol which sets itself up in opposition against God in the heart? what other voice can warn so effectually against idolatry of self, which now threatens through pride, vanity, and self-indulgence to sap and destroy every principle? and so of all the other com-

[q] See note K.

mandments, whether they refer to the honouring of God, to the observance of the day dedicated to His service, to the honour and reverence due to parents and superiors, or to the respect we are to have for our neighbour's life, property, and domestic peace: all these great duties are inculcated by proclaiming the commandments of God in the vulgar tongue to the people.

By a form of worship truly Catholic, prayers are put up in an intelligible manner for Rulers and Governors by the governed themselves, even in the presence of the former; for the right administration of justice, by the judges themselves as well as by those administered to: a common supplication arises for the maintenance of order and the repression of rebellion and tumult, from congregations composed of every class of persons assembled before God, the Searcher of hearts, to whom nothing is hid: in short, intercession is made for all, in every state, and for every want; in such manner that the heart is filled, and the devout worshipper returns from the house of God satisfied.

At such a service the whole family can be present, the children with the parents, the servants with the heads of the household, for all are able to take a real part in it, even the youngest and the least instructed. It is like transferring the family altar into the midst of the common assembly, where all the families are again bound up collectively in one tie of Christian relationship, equality before God, and social connexion. What is understood by all, and what all are called to take a part in, no valid plea can be urged for remaining absent from. How rejoicing, because how valuable,

is the sight of an assembled congregation thus worshipping God in spirit, and with the understanding! How sweet, and how precious, is the influence that spreads through the members of a family, assembled thus and kneeling together in God's house: the child beside the parent, ofttimes the son beside the mother; for the son can be expected to attend such a service as this: and that son when called by duty to some remote land, will remember when he knelt by his mother's side, and the faithful teaching he there heard; and in the midst of temptations, trials, and difficulties, he calls to mind that his dear parent's prayers are still there put up for him, a traveller by sea or land, and the thought is strength and solace to him, leading him to put his trust in the power of that GOD who is present every where.

Such a truly Catholic service will cause the Sunday to be spent in the manner in which it ought to be spent, to correspond rightly to the design of its first institution. The services of God's house are attended on account of the real comfort and benefit that are derived from them, no less than through the interest and satisfaction they create. The two public occasions of morning and evening prayer occupy the most considerable portions of the day, and yet leave sufficient time for private meditation, self-examination, and prayer: in short, for a due attention to those spiritual matters which are apt to be banished from the thoughts by secular affairs during the six other days of the week. With such inducements to attend a place of worship, persons would not be found giving up the day to dissipation or frivolity. On the other hand, when the

day is so spent in attending the services of God's house, it seems most likely that a sense of duty will lead the head of the family to occupy the intervals in enquiring into and endeavouring to advance the religious condition of the various members of his household.

In such a system of religion the Christian Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper will be viewed soberly and resorted to practically and profitably: the rites of Confirmation, Marriage, and Burial would obtain the respect and consideration which is their due: and altogether the worship of Almighty God, while it would be divested of an excessive, barren awe, which ignorance or inanity create, would be the object of a genuine, willing sentiment of respect and affection.

Christian worship will then no longer be supposed to require the aid of pictures; making too often the house of God to resemble a Museum: for, when any thing better than legendary fiction is attempted, it would seem as if, with regard to revealed things, adult intelligences were to be brought down to the capacities of children. Those ages are past when men might require to be so instructed; they can now be addressed directly and intelligibly upon the interests of their soul and eternal things: now as well as when the Apostle Paul wrote, the Saviour can be "evidently set forth crucified" among us, and the Apostolic Succession remains in the Church to perpetuate the personal testimony to the truth of the facts which Scripture presents to our view.

It is, further, no small advantage that such services being written, are therefore *definite* and *certain*. Any

one who is enquiring on the subject of religion can consult such a formulary, and there see what Christianity resolves itself into practically, and so dispel a feeling which too often keeps persons aloof from considering the subject of religion; namely, an apprehension that religion is to commit them to something indefinite and unintelligible; to something over and above what may be implied by *holiness of life;* an idea that there is some tie beyond the Services and the Sacraments of the Church: whereas when the whole plan of Church polity is placed before a person's mind, he can with greater ease and satisfaction to himself investigate it at his leisure; and when he becomes conscious of his religious wants, can accede to its faithfulness and applicability to his own particular case and need. A Book of Public Prayer, and of the Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites of the Church, becomes thus the best interpretation of the Scriptures. It shews what use is to be made of the Bible; it displays the great acts of a Christian's life; it tells what believers do when they meet together, and affords this most important guarantee to all, namely, that we are not exposed to be led about by every new wind of doctrine or every specious human invention.

One more feature in such a form of worship must be noticed. By a Service truly Catholic and truly National, which embraces every feeling and comprehends every interest, a means is afforded to *the whole nation* of uniting as with one voice, if not at one time, in worship to the Lord of heaven and of earth, the Supreme Ruler of the affairs of men, in whose sight nations are but as individuals, that He would be pleased

to keep, direct, and prosper the national family, conferring blessings upon them as a nation, and averting those visitations and chastisements which collectively as a nation they may most justly have called down upon themselves.

We have here beheld, in not departing from the primitive model, a *public worship*, whereby every thing can be done according to the Scriptural precept, "decently and in order;" where without extravagant pomp or tinsel ornament a divine service to God is rendered, which derives its dignity from the sublime nature of the subjects that compose it, and its solemnity from the power which the prayer of faith and the Word of God have to shed a divine influence over the heart: a worship that embodies and sets forth plainly and forcibly the sum and substance of the Gospel, namely, *forgiveness of sins and everlasting life;* by becoming attached to which, and profiting by it, our belief and our practice of religion go hand in hand, and we can bind them up intelligently and really with the ordinary daily actions of our life.

And it is only when this "glad message" from God is heard, understood, and received, as it has been brought unto us by the Saviour Christ, who was Jesus; when this plan of heavenly mercy to sinning creatures is studied and comprehended in connexion with His life, deeds, sufferings, and atonement, as exhibited in the New Testament Scriptures; when we are truly taught by Him, and thus become His disciples—it is then that, being assimilated to Him by the power of the Holy Spirit, the heart is changed, the individual becomes actually converted from earthly pursuits to heavenly, spiritual

objects, and is thus prepared in this life for attaining to everlasting felicity in that which is to come—and not with the aid of inferior mediatorial machinery, or of unscriptural purgatorial devices, but by the free gift and grace of God; our deeds attesting our faith, and a consistent walking by the Spirit of God shewing that we are striving after that "holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord."

This is the state in which alone man's character is fully developed: man is not complete without Religion. His greatest physical developement is evidently but auxiliary to his fulfilling all the functions of life; his highest intellectual developement does but enlarge his capabilities for action, and may be perverted to evil as well as applied to good; but the soul's, or the spiritual, developement, supplies those presiding principles by which we are to be guided in our thoughts, words, and actions. So that the religious man is found to be the complete man: his existence is harmonised; he possesses something which presides over and directs his whole being; and, like to the faithful magnet, can guide him through the rocks and shoals of this life, safely into a haven of happiness in the life to come. A mode of being like this adds a value to all God's gifts: the pleasant places of the earth are rendered more valuable from our consciousness of the right use to be made of them; in that, according to the Creator's intent, they are to be used, and not abused: whereas without it all the highest of this world's advantages lose even the value they ought to have; and life itself may come to be regarded as nothing worth: which we have had sad occasion to notice above.

What a man therefore requires to have conveyed to him when he goes up to worship is, the entire way of salvation on the pure Scriptural basis; so that when the heavy laden conscience shall enquire, "What must I do to be saved?" he shall find clearly set forth in the outset, that the way to the Almighty's pardon and favour is through repentance, whatsoever be the degree or nature of the sin: that there must be, through His grace, a rising from the spiritual death of sin unto a new and heavenly life; and by having the Saviour's pattern constantly before us in such services, the repentant man is enabled to look forward to communion with Him, by a partaking in that bread and in that cup which He has Himself left as a memorial of His incarnation, suffering, and death for us; to the end that our souls may receive their spiritual nutriment and refreshment, and feel a communion likewise, in the unity of the Spirit, with all true believers, the members together of one spiritual body.

The elevation of character to which man by true religion is introduced; the stamp of excellency bestowed on a nature which innately possesses it not, through participation in spiritual things and connexion with a heavenly sphere, are gifts that do not come alone; they are accompanied by peace of conscience and by the possession of a happiness, which external things are able neither to bestow nor to withdraw.

One of the most valuable fruits of the Christian character is the practice of family worship. Whenever a person who has come under the influence of religion settles in life, either as husband or as wife, the same scriptural prayers which have edified in the public

worship, will serve to set up the domestic altar, around which the family will daily kneel, offering up united prayer, and bringing down collective blessings of mutual harmony and forbearance. It is *then* that a father is truly found to be the head of his household, when he can be "prophet" to instruct in things of the soul; "priest" in praying for and with his family; and "king" to rule over them with united gentleness and firmness. And who is ignorant that the great source of stability, strength, and prosperity to a country is *the family?*

By means, also, of a true teaching of Christianity, the problem respecting woman's position, so often debated, finds a solution. A truly solid, religious education, renders her the Christian wife and mother, a fit companion and counsellor for man; capable of training up children to be useful citizens no less than as beings destined for immortality.

With a system of teaching truly Catholic, religious education is not confined to a person's youth, but is continued, and accompanies him during the period of tempestuous passions, when especially its assistance is needed. He goes on learning as he increases in years; he brings the events of life and his daily conduct to this standard, and thus the complete Christian is being formed until death. With either an erroneous or a defective religious tuition, not only is Religion soon found to be abandoned, but even a wider deviation is ofttimes witnessed from the right course; proving the necessity of such institutions as can enable a man to cultivate, practise, and enjoy Religion *throughout life.*

It is not indifferent to the general interests of a State

that a means should exist of spending the Sabbath profitably and fully with exercises of Religion. It is plain that England could not do all that she is now able to do, were it not for the observance of the Sabbath. There is an incentive to frugality and industry, when persons have to appear, once in each week, with a decency becoming their station, as individuals or as members of a family, in God's house, and before their fellow men; this must serve to a considerable degree as a test not only of principle, but of good conduct, and in many cases of material well being likewise.

And while the general good requires that a man should be able, without any hypocritical semblance, to go and occupy his place in the public Christian assembly, and give thus the guarantee of religious principle, or at least of regard for religious feeling; there are occasions when the more popular manifestation of Religion seems called for. When justice is to be administered, or any other public function exercised, actions and decisions require to be ostensibly referable to those eternal principles of right and wrong which the law of God exhibits: when the fear of man is impotent to restrain the human heart, then must there be reference to the fear of God, which alone *can* have power to restrain and control. The magistrate who enquires after a religious instrumentality for repressing crime and reclaiming the guilty, must be able to find one that he can himself acknowledge and approve, and which he can, as it were, identify with his judicial functions. Indeed, all the ordinary public proceedings of a country may justly require to be hallowed by Religion in a profitable and intelligible

manner; the heart that is swayed by religious feeling will be supported and wisely directed in the exercise of important duties; the same influence can direct the exhibition of public joy on occasions of thanksgiving, as well as preside over and regulate even lesser occasions of intercourse and festivity connected with the public good, and Religion becomes as it were part and parcel of the existence of a country.

Thus would Religion be found auxiliary to *true patriotism*. Great public acts, such as general thanksgivings, are then truly national when they become accessible to the understanding of all. When, no longer hoisted on a buckler, as were heretofore Kings of Northern Tribes, the solemn compact takes place between the Sovereign and the People in the House of God and before His altar; the one engaging that he will faithfully rule according to justice and the laws, the other that they will dutifully obey him as the supreme depository of that power for rewarding and for punishing whose source is in God; this can be done with the intelligent sanction of Religion—Religion can, by a public solemn service which all shall understand and all take a part in, lend her sacred sanction to the great transaction; and then, as the diadem first encircles the sovereign's brow, when ten thousand voices burst forth with a "God save!" on either King or Queen, that cry which rends the roof, springs from hearts animated at once by religious fervency, exalted patriotism, and devoted loyalty!

With a system like that which we are here delineating, when danger arises, from whatsoever source, to Religion itself, the nation can put forth collectively its activity in behalf of its Church, and will do so, in order to deliver

the cause of Religion from the evil which threatened it.

All the energies of a country can then be bound up together and directed into *one channel*, namely, the PUBLIC GOOD. Men's affections will be undivided: "*Pro aris et focis*" will be the motto that shall embody, animate, and direct every sympathy and every effort.

The sum and representative of the individual character will then appear in the NATIONAL CHARACTER; for the prosperity and real happiness of a country are made up of *the sum of individual* well-being and contentment. The Christian and the Citizen become thus united in the same individual: just as the *religious* society and the *civil* society make one body: CHURCH and STATE are but different aspects of the same social incorporation. The individuals that, in a temporal point of view, form the State, are the same who, in a spiritual point of view, form the Church.

The *commission* which Christ's Ministers receive is a *spiritual* one; and the power they are invested with by virtue of that commission, whether as Bishops, Priests, or Deacons, is likewise spiritual: but the authority to exercise it actually and legally in any particular diocese or parish is derived from the laws, and from the Sovereign who is the efficient cause of law. Wherefore a Sovereign is to be held the *supreme* governor or ruler over all persons, and *in* all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, in his own dominions: for Kings are to be the nursing-fathers and Queens the nursing-mothers of the Christian Church.

THIS is what human society is called to, in order that it may possess the highest degree of tranquillity, duration, and prosperity: and we have now seen that *there*

is a means by which the Christian Religion can be made to confer its benefits on those who are suffering from the want of them.

The XXXVIth Canon of the English Church, (Anno 1603,) runs thus:

The Queen's Majesty under God is the supreme Governor of this realm, and of all other her Highness' dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal, and no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, preeminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within her Majesty's said realms, dominions, and countries.

Archbishop Platon, in a work authorized by common use in the *Eastern Church*, speaks thus in connexion with the same subject:

Christian Kings are the prime guardians and champions of the Church, and are *bound to provide* for the *welfare of the Church, as for* that of the *State.*

The Christian Church demands of princes, first, that they be learned in God's law, (Deut. xvii. 18.); secondly, that they be examples of piety and virtue to all men; thirdly, that they take care that the Church be well governed, and that they encourage faithful ministers and governors; fourthly, that they repress schism, and defend the Church from persecutors and scoffers; fifthly, that they *propagate true religion*, and provide suitable maintenance for its teachers. Hence every one may see clearly how closely the body politic is united with the Church. And since the Sovereign of a Christian state has no superior upon earth, and *no one in this world can recompense him* for these his labours, he lives on the faithful assurance of attaining hereafter an unfailing and inestimable reward. Ὀρθόδοξος Διδασκαλία, Koray's Greek version, Athens, 1836, p. 135.

IV.

A FEW OF THE LAWFUL GROUNDS FOR THE INDEPENDENCY OF NATIONAL CHURCHES.

NATIONS have A RIGHT to the possession and enjoyment of these *benefits:*

1. Because Christianity was given on the part of God for the whole human family. Our Lord said, "Go ye, and teach all nations." Matt. xxviii. 19.

And, 2. Because the national or provincial patriarchates into which the Church or body of believers soon came to be organized, were *independent one of the other.*

This *independence* was established,

(a) By the Civil Law; the standing legislation on this point being *A patriarcha non datur appellatio,* "from a patriarch there lieth no appeal." COD. JUSTIN. l. i. tit. 4. l. 29. Ex editione Gothofredi.

(b) By the Canon Law; and specifically that portion of it called "JUS CYPRIUM," contained in a decree of the Council of Ephesus, (A. D. 431,) the fourth General Council, deciding in a case where Rheginus and his fellow Bishops of the province of Cyprus appealed against the pretensions of the Bishop of Antioch, who claimed a right of ordaining in that island: the Council *condemned the intrusion,* and thus established for ever the liberties of Christendom on a sure basis. The Council adds, Canon 8.

And the same regulation shall be observed *in all other* provinces, viz. that no Bishop shall exercise any jurisdiction in a foreign province which has not been under the government of his predecessors from the first planting of

Christianity. And if any Prelate shall make any forcible seizure, he shall be obliged to desist from the invasion, that the Constitutions of the Church may not be violated, nor any ecclesiastical pretence be made a cover for worldly ambition, that the liberties of Christendom may not be swallowed up by degrees, which our Lord Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of mankind, has purchased for us with His own blood. It is therefore decreed by the holy Œcumenical Council, that the original rights which every province has enjoyed from the beginning, shall be secured to them *entire and undiminished, according to the course of ancient custom;* and that every metropolitan shall be allowed a copy of the acts of the Council[r].

Notwithstanding this clear right of National Churches to be independent of all foreign jurisdiction, the see of Rome has extended its domination over other patriarchates; violating at once the enactments of the Civil and of the Canon Law. For, that Christianity existed in Gaul independently of Rome, is shewn by the fact, that in the year 177, when the Churches of Lyon and Vienne, then spoken of already as Metropolitan Churches, suffered from a cruel persecution, Pothinus, Bishop of Lyon, endured martyrdom at the advanced age of ninety; and his successor in that see was Irenæus, a disciple of Polycarp, who was one of the disciples of St. John the Apostle; a further proof is, that the account of these martyrdoms, wherein so many bore glorious testimony of "everlasting life," was not sent either to the Church at Rome or to any other, but to the *Asiatic* Churches, the true founders and mothers of *all* Churches.

[r] Vide Concilia Generalia, iii. p. 802. ed. Labbe, 1671. Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. i. p. 84. ed. 1842.

That Christianity existed in Britain also, long before the coming of any Romish envoy, is incontrovertible. British Bishops were present at the earliest Councils; at that of Arles, A.D. 314, where the names of *three* are found subscribed to the Acts of the Council[s]; as well as at others: and when Augustine landed in England, it is known there were a British Archbishop and seven Bishops. In short, no trace whatever can be found of any exercise of authority by the Pope of Rome in England for more than six hundred years; while different facts shew that England received her Christianity, not from Rome, but from the Eastern Church: such are, the fact of keeping Easter according to the Oriental custom; the mode of administering Baptism; and many other things in which the British Church differed from that with which Augustine the Monk was connected, and which he introduced. Another proof is found in the use of the word *Church*, which, as it is derived from the Greek, Κυριακὴ, shews that the Christian Religion was introduced from a country where the Greek language was used[t].

[s] Concil. Arelat. Labbe i. p. 1430.

[t] Tertullian calls Jerusalem "Matrem et Fontem religionis," the mother and spring of religion. St. Augustine says, "Fides orta est a Græcis," the faith sprang first from the Greeks. Tertull. contra Marcion. lib. ii. August. Epist. 178.

Bingham, Antiquities, bk. ii. ch. xviii. §. 3. And this (Jus Cyprium) was also the ancient liberty of the Britannic Church, before the coming of Austin the Monk, when the seven British Bishops paid obedience to the Archbishop of Caer-Leon, and acknowledged no superior in spirituals over him; as Dionothus, the learned Abbot of Bangor, told Austin in the name of all the Britannic Churches; 'that they owed no other obedience to the Pope of Rome

National Churches have an independent RIGHT,

1. To the possession of the Holy Scriptures;

2. To their own national Synods for regulating their affairs, both of faith and discipline;

3. To the primitive Liturgies;

4. To the ordering of Rites and Ceremonies.

In the Council of Constantinople it is thus written; Definierunt pariter, ut siquid in provincia qualibet emergeret, provinciæ Concilio finiretur. The Fathers agreed together, that, if any matter should happen to grow in the province, *by a Council of the province* it should be ended. (Hist. Tripart. lib. 9. cap. 13.) Isidorus says, Manifestum est, quod illa quæ sunt per unamquamque provinciam, ipsius Provinciæ synodus dispenset: sicut Niceno constat decretum esse Concilio. It is clear that matters happening in every province, may be, by a provincial Synod, regulated: as is concluded in the Council of Nice. Isid. in Præfatione in Concilia.

This is shewn also by the admission of the Popes themselves:

Novit fraternitas tua Romanæ ecclesiæ consuetudinem, in quâ se meminit nutritum. Sed mihi placet, sive *in Romanâ, sive in Galliarum, seu in quâlibet ecclesiâ, aliquid invenisti* quod plus Omnipotenti Deo possit placere, sollicite eligas, et in Anglorum Ecclesiâ, quæ adhuc ad fidem nova est,

than they did to every other godly Christian, to love every one in his degree in perfect charity; other obedience than this they knew none due to him whom *he* named Pope. But they were under the government of the Bishop of Caer Leon-upon-Uske, who was their overseer under God.' And Girald. Cambr. Itinerar. ii. c. 1. states, that all the Bishops of Wales received their consecration from their own Metropolitan, till the time of Henry I. "nullâ penitus alii Ecclesiæ factâ professione vel subjectione."

institutione præcipua, quæ de multis ecclesiis colligere potuisti, infundas. Non enim pro locis res, sed pro bonis rebus loca amanda sunt. *Bedæ Hist. Eccles.* Gentis Anglorum, ed. Smith, p. 63. Thou, my brother, art aware of the customs of the Roman Church, remembering thou wert nurtured in them. But it pleaseth me that *whether thou shalt find in the Roman Church, or in the Gallican, or in any other*, that which seems most acceptable to Almighty God, thou shouldest be careful to adopt it, and thus infuse into the Church of England, which is as yet but young in faith and discipline, the most excellent things thou couldest select out of many Churches. For things are not to be esteemed for the places whence they are derived, but places for things.—Thus wrote Pope Gregory to Augustine on his mission to the Saxons. See *Jer. Collier's Hist. of the Church of England*, vol. i. p. 67.

This right has been acted upon in numerous instances by national Synods, which have proceeded on the principle that *it is lawful for any particular Church to promulgate that which is Catholic*[u]. And if any particular Church may proclaim what is Catholic, it must have a right also to declare what is not Catholic; and furthermore to proceed to reform the same, should the Universal Church be silent and inactive; that is to say, should it happen that either she will not, or through the misfortunes of the times is unable to obtain and to carry out a free General Council.

[u] This was the principle invoked by the Church of Rome herself for acting without the Greek Church. "Non oportuit ad hoc eos vocare, quum authoritas fuerit publicandi apud ecclesiam Romanam, præcipue etiam *particulari ecclesiæ liceat, id quod Catholicum est promulgare.*" Alb. Magn. in 1 Dist. 11. A. 9.

Thus a Council at Rome, anno 324, condemned the grave heresies of Photinus and Sabellius: the first Council of Carthage, a provincial one, about 348, condemned rebaptization: the Council of Milevis in Africa, at which St. Augustine was present, in the year 416, condemned the whole range of the Pelagian heresy: the second Council held at Orange, a provincial one likewise, debated and set the Church right on the great controversy concerning grace and free-will, in the year 444: the fourth Council of Toledo determined many matters of faith and reformation in Spain, in the year 643, decreeing likewise, "That if there happen a cause of faith to be settled, a general, that is a national, Synod of all Spain and Gallicia, shall be held thereon [x]."

And not to seek for further examples, the National Synod of the Church of England held in London, under royal authority, in 1562, threw off the Pope of Rome's usurpations, as well as reformed numerous errors in matters both of faith and of discipline.

Hincmar, Bishop of Reims, says: Cum duarum, aut trium provinciarum præsules in unum conveniunt, si antiquorum Canonum institutione muniti, aliquid prædicationis, aut dogmatis instituunt, quod tamen ab antiquorum patrum dogmatibus non discrepet, Catholicum est, quod faciunt: et fortasse dici potest, Universale. When the Bishops of two or three provinces meet together, if they by the warrant of the old Councils appoint any matter of preaching or doctrine, so that it disagree not from the doctrine of the ancient Fathers, that which they do is Catholic, and haply may be called universal. *Hincmarus Rœmensis*, cap. 20.

The same right was vindicated by Gerson, the learned and devout Chancellor of Paris, who said

[x] Vide Laud's Conference with Fisher, p. 126. ed. Oxford 1839.

openly: "Either you should reform all estates of the Church in a General Council, or command them to be reformed in Provincial Councils." And further: "That he will not deny but that the Church may be reformed by parts; and that this is necessary; and that to effect it Provincial Councils may suffice, and in some things Diocesan[y]."

That the Bishop of Rome's patriarchal power was limited to his own *Diocese*, could be abundantly proved by the admissions of writers of the Romish Communion. Fleury says: "Saint Grégoire n'entrait dans ce détail que pour les Eglises qui dépendaient particulièrement du Saint Siège, et que par cette raison on nommait *Suburbicaires:* savoir celles de la *partie méridionale d'Italie*, où il était seul Archevêque, celles de Sicile et des autres îles, quoiqu'elles eussent des Métropolitains. Mais on ne *trouvera pas qu'il exerçat le même pouvoir immédiat dans les provinces dépendantes de Milan, d'Aquilée*, ni dans *l'Espagne* et les *Gaules*[z]." Hist. Ecclestiq. *Bruxelles*, 1721. tom. viii. p. 41.

[y] Gerson. Declarat. Defectuum Virorum Ecclesiasticorum, par. i. pag. 209. B. Tract. de Gen. Concil. unius obedientiæ, par. i. pag. 222. F.

[z] When the Empire became Christian, i. e. early in the fourth century, it was composed of two great divisions, the Eastern and the Western, each of which consisted of seven political divisions called *Dioceses,* to which there were Ecclesiastical Divisions corresponding, fourteen in all. In these fourteen Dioceses there were altogether about one hundred and eighteen minor territorial divisions called *Provinces;* and as in each Province there were several cities with their respective precincts attached to them, so there were several chief *Churches* called *Paræciæ,* each having its own territorial circumscription allotted to it.

The word *paræcia* has now descended to describe a *parish* from formerly signifying a Diocese; as the word *Diocese,* from once signifying a combination of several Dioceses, has also descended to

We have seen that National Churches existed, their very presence at Councils being proof sufficient; we have seen that they were independent one of another; also that they have a right to be governed by their own Synods, Patriarchs, and Bishops, without being brought under subjection to any foreign Patriarch or Bishop whatsoever.

Upon this ground, then, we stand, claiming this National Independency as an imprescriptible, unalienable, right; and it is for any persons who would deny this to bring forward *their* proofs. England has had the happiness of being able to re-enter into possession of this right: the same right has long been asserted by two other powerful kingdoms, France and Spain, although on account of unhappy divisions, as well as *a powerful counter-influence from Rome*, they have not been able hitherto to act upon it.

The condition of various countries and states remains therefore the same; Rome has departed from the *original polity* of the Christian Church, by an usurped supremacy, and she now stands in the way of others enjoying their just rights.

The City of Rome naturally attracted attention from its having been so long the seat of government; and its Bishops were sometimes chosen as referees even out of their own Patriarchates, as well as to preside at Councils. There arose an emulation for influence

indicate only one. The Rulers of these chief Churches were called *Bishops*, those of the Provinces were styled *Metropolitans;* and those of the Dioceses *Patriarchs, Exarchs,* or *Archbishops*. See Bingham, ii. xvii. 20. Panciroli, Notitia Dignitatum utriusque Imperii, in Grævii Thesaur. Antiq. vii. p. 1308. Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, by Dr. Richard Crakanthorp, Lond. 1625. p. 144.

between the two imperial cities, Rome and Constantinople; and after a Bishop of Rome had gone so far as to censure the Patriarch of the latter city for presuming to take the title of "Universal Bishop," the Bishops of Rome had the effrontery to assume the title themselves. Their growing pretensions were advanced by the support of the Emperors when a semblance of the Western Empire was set up under Charlemagne and his successors; the Pope's influence increased, however, so as to eclipse at last that of the Emperors, who were brought to humble themselves before it, and a favourite illustration of the Romanists came to be, that "God had appointed two luminaries to lighten the world, the *greater light* to rule the day, that is, spiritual things, was the POPE; and the lesser light to rule the night, that is, temporal matters, was the Emperor!"

This is a brief history of the rise of that power which continues to exist as the great anomaly amid the governments of Europe. Its usurping aggressions were yielded to in times of unsuspecting confidence, or else of unenlightened ignorance; but whatever has been once granted illegally may be again recalled; the sovereign rights of nations and of rulers can neither be estranged nor curtailed; and it is now only by sufferance that the noxious, anti-national, system of Romanism has any existence in all Europe.

Confidence in their own resources for supplying public worship, as well as for maintaining the Succession in the Apostolic line for the priesthood, will enable governments to put an end to this *imperium in imperio*, which is a perpetual source of uneasiness and

instability; for it is the Nationality established in the various States that calls especially for aliment and protection. The Roman Empire, which had reached the highest pitch of its power about the time of Christ's birth, was but of comparatively short duration; the same may be said of the empire of Charlemagne, which did not continue long under his successors; neither did that of Charles V. still less did that of Buonaparte. Let us then foster whatever tends to strengthen that *Nationality* in States, which seems to have been hitherto, what it appears also likely to be, the principal feature in their coherency and duration.

V.

GENERAL RESULTS OF NATIONAL CATHOLICITY.

In what precedes we have seen, that there are means whereby the benefits of the Christian Religion can be afforded to those who are at present deprived of them; we have seen also they have a right to the enjoyment of them. The origin of the Holy Scriptures as well as the nature of the Authority which the Bible ought to have, are points easy of investigation: the existence of primitive Liturgies in various countries, is a fact likewise which can be ascertained; and the Apostolic Succession of Orders in the Church belongs not to *one Episcopal* branch *only*, but to divers; *this* cannot be denied, nor can it be taken away.

Let every State, now deficient in any of its privileges, revert therefore to that primitive foundation of doctrine, discipline, and public worship which it is entitled to; rectified, in so far as may be required, by comparison with the Holy Scriptures, the common, *acknowledged*

test of faith and practice: for, while tradition is *not* universally acknowledged as an authority, Holy Scripture is a rule which *all* concur in recognising. Our duty is to follow in that way which God now opens before us, as a means for reviving true Catholic Christian communion, and for introducing thereby and establishing general harmony in Europe; which will avoid at the same time all innovation, being a return to primitive belief, order, and worship; deficiencies in Church government being supplied on the one hand, and excess or extravagancy of belief and practice repressed on the other; a duty which concerns as well the members of the non-episcopal communions, as the members of the Roman Catholic body.

And when that which is to be done shall be effected *under authority*, those dangers which heretofore have resulted from divided opinions, and which might again be feared, will be avoided. The power of truth is great, and it ought to prevail in each breast: ultimately it *will prevail*, whether we uphold it or not; whether we accept the privilege of being helpers in establishing it, or hold back from such a duty.

We have noticed above how, by partaking in the benefits of the Christian religion, *individual* character is exalted: the effects do not stop here, but extend to the City and to the Nation, for it is written, "Righteousness exalteth a nation;" and further still, *international benefits* must be the result. When the principle once gets into operation, it will inspire the most cordial good understanding; which must go on increasing and being consolidated, just as the opposite feeling of ill

will and hostility, by being put into action, gets aggravated and strengthened. Who would undertake to say, that the greatest evils Europe has had to mourn over during the last few centuries, would not, humanly speaking, have been averted, if a National Catholicity had prevailed? How, in promoting the highest and best sentiments, would not a blind fanatic rivalry have been prevented? Wisdom, devotedness, disinterestedness, constancy, patriotism, enterprise, all have one common source, and when recognised by all alike as proceeding from duty towards God, and duty towards man, how much cause for jealousy and national antipathy would be removed; while concord and mutual cooperation would occupy their place. To the view of faith and hope, what visions of prosperity are opened out for different countries, in the paths of true scriptural light and scriptural activity! whereas from being either paralyzed or distracted through the want of such an element of order, what disastrous fortunes have not those same countries had to undergo!

The infusion of a religious element in the *literature* of every country must be universally felt and acknowledged as necessary; but how is such an infusion *possible* where the religion is neither truly national nor truly popular? Where there is a recognised standard of abstract truth in a country, judgments concerning men and events are guided by it; periodical literature of every degree, claiming at least to be called respectable, is more or less influenced by it, the conductors knowing they would lose their support if they departed avowedly from it. To *support truth will be found to be*

the strength of a country; in it are contained both the means of self-preservation, and the means of outward security and enlargement.

It has ever been held among civilized nations, that a due intercourse on subjects of natural science is alike pleasing, honourable, and beneficial; yet how little intercourse has been practicable in the *moral* sciences, for want of a system of National Catholicity, which should establish an open ground on the highest and best subjects; these including naturally all inferior ones? Even in the interchange of general literature between countries, how much mistrust would be done away with; one great standing cause of personal estrangement, which serves also to feed national prejudice, would be broken down; and a far wider and more secure reciprocity than now exists or can even be contemplated might, under God's favour, be brought about: these benefits men are now deprived of by the peculiarities of a foreign see, forced upon different countries in lieu of their own primitive Christianity, which, being founded on Scripture, would be found similar in all.

But there are considerations higher still than these, calling upon those who have the government of affairs to attend to the things which pertain to man's eternal interests. When God's judgments are in the earth, it is meant that men should learn righteousness. Alas! were dearth, or earthquakes, or any other dire catastrophe to visit these lands, all the most exalted energies and principles the human character is susceptible of would be required, and would have to come into actual operation; must we so soon allow it

to escape our memory and attention, that since that dreadful scourge, the Cholera, visited Europe, great cities have been devoured by conflagrations, and fertile districts laid waste by floods? Other great advertisements likewise, which have gone before, we are called upon not to forget; especially one whose teaching we have just contemplated:—God shed abroad over the nations the light of Christianity, which light was revived at the *Reformation*. Yet when that warning call remained unheeded, what an awful result took place in the French Revolution: what a fearful whirlwind of men's passions then passed over the nations! nearly twenty years of war strewed with the dead bodies of millions of our fellow-creatures the battle plains of Europe! God wills that we should know Him, love Him, and serve Him, in order that we may enjoy real happiness; and the means which He has provided for that end are the Christian faith and institutions. We are summoned therefore to revert to His gift, to the first beginnings of Christianity; we are called upon to go back to the primitive Church, to those early times whence alone we can take our departure. To France, for instance, there belongs a pure, original, indigenous (so to speak) Christianity; which is neither the Romish system, nor the non-episcopal; both these are strangers on its territory; the one has come in from Italy, the other has been imported from Switzerland; the former has departed from the primitive Church most evidently in doctrine, the latter most clearly in discipline.

Let us not refuse to be taught, when we view on the one side the Arianism, anarchy, and deadness which

have unfortunately crept into those Churches where there was not Apostolic discipline, possessing authority enough from being duly commissioned, to "keep and deliver" the truth: and on the other hand, when we consider the injury that has accrued to Religion generally, from the corruption of doctrine and the excess of authority in the Church of Rome. How have errors which sprung up in any portion of the Church in dark ages been consolidated and spread! what abuses authorized and perpetuated, by means of that *usurped, pretended* universal domination!

Behold Spain and Portugal! How has the edifice Rome had reared in those countries crumbled? Who shall give back to a pure, national branch of the Church any portion of that patrimony which rightfully belonged to her, and which the abominable corruptions of Rome have caused to be alienated, irretrievably it is to be feared, in both those countries, from the object to which such means were to have been dedicated, namely, the honouring of God, and the spiritual good of the populations?

The fabric of Monachism in those lands was so corrupt, that it crumbled and has disappeared almost unnoticed and without a struggle; with one particularity however attending its fall; viz. that those very populations which had been nurtured in ignorance and in fanaticism the better to ensure its duration, were they who lent their hands to the demolition[a]!!

[a] Yet some of these same religious fraternities are at this moment striving hard to get a footing in Ireland and in England; and many benevolent persons, for want of information, are found to countenance them, unsuspicious of the evils they bring in their train.

Thus have Portugal the Most Faithful, and Spain the Most Catholic, which in the periods of Rome's unhallowed, because unfounded and unjust, domination, followed in the train of her triumph, been virtually released from her! But the abasement caused by her corruptions has again brought with it a spectacle of ungodly, irreverent, dealing with holy things; the lamentable desecration of sacred edifices and church vessels!

Respecting France, there can be no doubt as to a majority of the nation being adverse to Popish intrusions. At the Restoration in 1814, and up to 1830, it was written in the Constitutional Charter, that the "Roman Catholic Religion" was the religion of the State: since 1830 that enactment has been struck out. The Pope's authority is still endured there, but France remains, we may say, one of the few countries where it obtains ordinary deference. How long would the catalogue be of prerogatives which the See of Rome has had retrenched? How shorn of its beams her triple crown! Who shall describe the difference since the time when Emperors and Kings were dependent on her nod; and entire nations shook and were aghast at her impious frown? One by one have all these proud, iniquitous pretensions fallen away; they arose, but founded alone on artifice and injustice, they have disappeared.

Be it remarked that, all this while, Rome dares not propose calling a *General Council!* Nothing is said of such a congress of the Prelates even of her own obedience! Surely there is occasion for calling them in to her help, and strengthening and restoring the

decayed influence of the self-styled *only* true Church, —Catholic, Apostolic, and *Roman*. It is Rome, then; it is not any body of national Clergy, *as such*, that has to be put to the bar: they have been brought up in the system, and have been taught to *despise* and oppose every other; and they are themselves sufferers in turn. Every one feels how, in France, for instance, the Ultramontane connexion causes all ecclesiastical authority to be despised: let any one who knows Italy proclaim, how power and authority of whatsoever kind have there become enervated and paralysed!

It cannot be imagined that men will always remain as enduring as they are at present: when at length Romish arts and subtlety shall have aroused them, will they not recall the multiplied deceptions, abuses, and usurpations, which the Church of Rome can be reproached with during the course of centuries? That day may not be very far distant. Let us pray that it may come attended with intelligence, firmness, and moderation! that it may only be as the lion, awakened, and shaking off the insects which have been troubling it, and diving at its life's blood.

Could it be thought surprising, that in France, for instance, men who are not content to be led through the miry and degrading mummeries of Ultramontanism; men of sound erudition, deep study, and fervent patriotism, should feel their bosoms glow with some of the fire of Gerson, de Thou, Arnauld, Pascal, and so many other defenders of a nation's rights of conscience against foreign priestcraft and despotism? These will not be satisfied with the semi-infidel democratic essays of Lamennais, or the semi-political devices of Abbé Châtel. They will be contented with nothing less than

that full, orthodox religion, such as the primitive ages bequeathed Christianity to us.

Great changes are indeed taking place; we cannot close our eyes to this crumbling of Rome's power, and should call it to mind whenever we hear the vain boasting and exaggerations of her partisans. Romanism may form great expectations, and use its utmost endeavours to obtain favour in men's minds, and try to regain its footing amid the great human associations of Europe; but even speaking humanly, it cannot be expected that men will give up their sense and judgment, and go blindfold into its absurd practices and opinions: this is too much to look for at the present day.

And while such great events are proceeding, as those we have alluded to, who can despair of the future destinies of Europe? Are we not entitled to trust to God's mercy for the accomplishment of what remains to be done? Nay, do they not speak loudly and call upon us to labour, following in that way wherein God is seen to be working, lest finally He should abandon us to our own ways? Let us, while the opportunity is allowed us, calmly contemplate and regularize the movement before it gets too powerful; before the Romish errors have engendered unbelief enough to produce another explosion against religion; and before also the non-episcopal communions have been moved by any leaven of dissent, brought in by republicanism, so as to render a return to order impracticable without violence.

In what is before us, the incentives of a work of philanthropy and civilization are superadded. To benefit the condition of the human family, to promote its comforts, to pluck up the germs of civil war, to

give security to property, peace to the domestic hearth, a stimulus to the love of country and of locality, all these are involved in the faithful teaching and exhibition of the Christian religion.

The fastnesses of superstition and discontent were broken up in Scotland, when parts of that country, before inaccessible, came to be traversed by royal highways; the same results have been obtained in La Vendée by means of the "Routes Stratégiques," and the application of similar means is much called for in Spain: must we not therefore be looking forward to the gradual breaking up of the retreats of ignorance and fanaticism in all Europe, through the increased facilities of intercourse in consequence of steam navigation and railroads, these *modern highways throughout Europe?* and is it not fitting that a pure, scriptural Christianity should be provided, and be presented to the acceptance of all those who emerge into increased knowledge, in order to direct them in that change which it is discernible men's minds must undergo?

Shall so many indications of God's purposes and testimonies of His favour be lost, and bear no fruits for want of our endeavours? Each generation, as it passes along on this earth, seems to lay, as it were, but one stone in the great edifice which is being constructed: it is for the present generation to do its part, by building so solidly as regards religious things, that, under God's favour, the foundation may be safe and abiding. If we fall short in our duties at the present crisis, many generations after us may have to suffer, should we ourselves escape without some signal chastisement!

But while we hasten the result by our prayers, wishes, and endeavours, we must proceed carefully and

securely. The Christian Religion will cause kingdoms to flourish and produce the happy fruits here spoken of; but the way must be opened to its full, real, safe, and practical operation. It must not be a Christianity either disfigured or maimed; neither must any thing vague or experimental be contemplated, nor aught done passionately; let each nation claim its just right to enjoying Christianity in its Apostolic state, as it was primitively enjoyed before its best features came one by one to be corrupted, and to yield before popish interpretations and superstitions, or else were marred by presumptuous insubordination; and let it be done in the spirit of immortal beings acting together with collective dignity in order to return to the possession of just rights, *long suspended*, perhaps, and *impaired*, but NEVER LOST.

Our mode of procedure, then, in the work before us will be this; that deriving our religion from Christ and His Apostles, as presented to us by the Holy Scriptures, we shall find it strengthened by all that was faithful in the writings of the Fathers of the primitive Church, vivified again by whatever was orthodox in the great work of the Reformation; and so brought down to us enriched with all the experience of the past, and ready to be applied to our own state, position, and times.

The maxim of inheritance upon which we can thus most safely proceed is one that is agreeable to every well-regulated mind, embracing as it does the principle of conservation as well as of transmission, without excluding the principle of improvement.

In all human matters, the system of inheritance is deferred to and maintained; and that mind must be perverse indeed that can reject it in religion. Where-

fore it is that men can have a fervent attachment for their Church when they know it is a portion of the Primitive Church, the original and the universal body of believers, which has continued to be renewed by successive generations to the glory of God until the present day.

And let no serious, patriotic mind hang back from enquiring into these matters; they will stand investigation; and the object, namely, the bringing out of moral and religious abasement, and the averting of impending dangers, is deserving of all our devotedness and care. How difficult the task to dispel delusion, where error has long been taken for truth! and to Rome, alas! her error is truth! Perhaps a fear of danger through innovation may be entertained by some persons, while nevertheless the impotency of the Romish system is seen and acknowledged: if however there be any thing in the minds of men of judgment and learning in various continental countries, beyond what could find its satisfaction in dreamy speculations or empty theory, it must finally issue in the public good: a country's detriment and ruin would be consequent upon the rejection and abandonment of such views and desires. Let it be borne in mind who are they who now look for and desire a better system as regards religion: they are not the turbulent and the rebellious, using such a change as a pretext to cover either ambitious views or an unsettled disposition: it is now, on the contrary, the peaceful, the reflecting, the patriotic man, the man of at least some property, in short, the truly good citizen, that wishes to have the means and instrument of religion put within his reach,

for his own and others' good, in a practical efficient form.

At no period, probably, since the sixteenth century, perhaps since the thirteenth, has there been so much intercourse between men of different countries, or so much cosmopolitan feeling prevailing, as at the present moment. At a former period, the mariner's compass by promoting navigation, and the art of printing by the dissemination of ideas, but chiefly by diffusing a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures—THE BOOK concerning GOD,—brought on a new phase of Society. In the same manner the newly established means of rapid communication will raise men still further above prejudice, a want of new international relations will soon manifest itself, and governments will be called upon to regulate an inevitably increasing intercourse, by modifying existing regulations or making new ones. The question that arises for consideration is, whether the best course be not to go to the root at once, and lay a really permanent foundation by harmonizing and settling religious institutions in the several countries? Truly Catholic institutions are the only means by which the spirit of intercourse now engendering can be rightly responded to and directed into a safe channel; it is with the aid of religion alone that it can be most properly and profitably dealt with, if we wish that it should be productive of any truly worthy and practical results.

Some other points of analogy may be perceived between the present period and the time when the Reformation aroused all Europe. Then an intrepid navigation added another hemisphere to the old world;

now the most distant countries are brought nigh by steam navigation: printing was at that time indeed discovered, and exercised its immense action; now the application of the power of steam to the press is introducing a new era into the art; never assuredly was the multiplication of thought so rapid, nor perhaps the means of publicity so abundant. Then a wonderful advance was made in the Fine Arts; now the new processes of engraving on stone and on steel bid fair to produce a deluge of representations of works of art, affording facilities for cultivating taste even down to the humblest grades of society, which cannot happen without some effects either for good or for evil.

As, moreover, the change which then took place in society occurred when most of the countries in Europe had assumed a well-defined character of nationality; England had settled down into tranquillity under the Tudors after having been long distracted by the wars between the Two Roses; Spain, likewise, had attained to unity under Ferdinand and Isabella; and France and Germany were sheltered from intestine divisions under Francis I. and Charles V.; so it is remarkable how distinct and independent in their connexions are at the present period the different nationalities in those South Western parts of Europe to which our remarks have chiefly applied. At other periods of history there have been sovereignties either extended or complicated; England and France were commingled, or else, Germany and France, or again, Spain and Germany. But we behold at the present time the leading divisions of Europe—Spain, France, the British Isles, and the Germanic Body—existing independently, in a clear,

distinct, position; suggesting the idea of what the same countries may have been as provinces of the Roman Empire, when Christianity first came in among them.

These considerations may assist us in directing wisely the existing tendencies; the dissemination of sound ecclesiastical views; the acting upon principles in Church matters that can endure scrutiny; will be found on the part of those who are friends to order in temporal affairs, and to peace and union in spiritual, to be the great means by which can be brought about the holy work of dispensing happiness more extensively and lastingly among the nations of the world.

We have witnessed in our day the fall of an empire: there is still subsisting in Europe an Ecclesiastical domination. Buonaparte's empire was seen to arise under pretence of emancipating the nations of Europe; and when at its meridian, many there were who could not have believed in so speedy an overthrow: yet we saw it crumble and disappear. The domination of the Church of Rome has maintained itself more even than Buonaparte's by constraint and keeping people in ignorance; and there are those who at the present time think it so firmly fixed that it cannot be moved: we may yet however witness a different state of things through the spread of information and of scriptural light. This difference, nevertheless, should be noticed; that whereas the subject matter, if we may so speak, of Buonaparte's empire consisted of material interests, which every one is directly and feelingly alive to, and which persons understand and can discuss; the elements of Rome's domination are spiritual things, invisible, which

fewer persons, alas! much prize, or are ready to concern themselves about, or are willing to give time and attention to.

Christ said, "My kingdom is *not* of this world;" but the Roman see has been willing to endeavour that it should be; hence monies under the denomination or pretence of contributions, dispensations, palliums, fines, indulgences, have again rendered the nations tributary to Rome: while, however, the see of Rome has been acting as if she kept in view a former temporal supremacy, it is now fit she should be reminded that that same temporal power she would fain imitate, fell at length under the weight of its own corruptions. The Ultramontane priests *may* act as though they expected every one to have forgotten all that has gone before, also how many times they have ruined monarchs and states; they must however be taught to know that there are those who are not quite so oblivious.

The sacerdocy a nation wants is one into which any person shall find it becoming to enter, though his social grade be ever so elevated, when he feels a vocation of God to dedicate himself to the ministry of holy things; wherein he shall *as a citizen* likewise be able to serve his country in the best possible manner, and in the most honoured career. His position ought to enable him to take his place and to have his part in the working of the great national body, of which all the portions are operating together for the general good, without being suspected of an intention to advance any secret ulterior view of priestly domination, or else of democratic levelling, so as to compel the govern-

ment to be constantly on the watch to guard against any undue increase of such influence.

A married Clergy, belonging to a system of sincere religion, which they as sincerely exemplify, diffuse throughout society a most salutary influence. Their families, brought up in the nurture and fear of God, infuse continually, as they enter into active life, an element of piety into the mass of the population. Then, likewise, how important and valuable is the domestic education which can be obtained for young persons in such families!

A consideration quite of another and an inferior order, yet not to be disregarded in a social point of view, presents itself here to the mind. In a Ministry that is bound up with an institution so revered as the Apostolic order of Episcopacy, how great the facility, weight, and dignity which must attend its operations! but when among a body exercising the Christian Ministry, as we see among the non-episcopalians, no officers are found so raised by position and habits, that they shall be able to cooperate with men filling the most eminent stations in the civil order, having intercourse with them, and acting as their countenancers and supporters, when any thing that relates to the secular concerns of the Church is to be protected or promoted, most certainly a detriment must arise from such deficiency, first to the interests of religion, then to the general character of such Ministry, and moreover to the individuals themselves. For it must happen, that men gifted with piety in the upper class of society, will wish to seek for an application of their piety and

an outlet for their talents in some way that shall maintain them in their own social grade; so that all such elements of spirituality and devotedness will be lost to the ministry of religion, and subjects will have to be received from every other class save that only. It is clearly also a wrong done to the employment of those abilities which God has created of various degrees in different men, when not only a level is passed upon the condition of the ministers, but likewise as regards any who have received greater gifts, no recognised sphere can be afforded for their useful and sufficient exercise.

If there have been any obligations on the part of countries towards the see of Rome, she has been very careful to repay herself; but there is much more cause to fear that any benefits which might be claimed to have accrued from her connexion, have long since been far more than counteracted by the evils which that connexion has produced. Though Rome should proceed farther and farther in her darkness and her delusion, though she should plunge her own more immediate states and diocese into destruction, yet other nations are not *obliged* to follow in her train, and be involved in her ruin.

If the *Pope* with his Church *at Rome* chooses to have services in Latin, the celibacy of the Clergy, and other points of peculiar discipline, he must continue to do so; but other national Churches must act as they think proper. Why should the national Church of any great European country consent to remain answerable together with Rome for all that Rome does? Let the Church of each country remain Catholic, bound

up with all other faithful branches of the Church in the *Unity of the Spirit*, and in lawful bonds of communion; that is all that can be required; but why remain responsible for all the transgressions of the Romish see, share her errors and absurdities, and ratify her usurpations by submitting to them? This is a most unworthy office for Christian Bishops and Christian rulers to be found committed to!

For, viewing Rome in the results of her system, we are obliged to consider her as the author of a deep, deplorable apostasy, which has held the truth of God captive, hiding it from nations, and maintaining thereby the *kingdom of darkness*, and hindering and opposing the *kingdom of light*, wherein nations might proceed to peace, happiness, and prosperity. Wherever her system can come into full operation, wherever she is unchecked by some other Christian communion, or else by infidelity, she stands in the way of improvements of every kind, and *frustrates the developement of individual character*, thereby drying *up at the very fountain-head* the springs of industry, activity, energy, and decision; and so national suffering, abasement, and humiliation are the consequence.

The greatest part of the prejudices that exist between nations, and that are so slow in being effaced, can be traced up to the influence of Rome. She has continually armed one part of Europe against another; she can suffer no other power, she can endure no other influence, besides her own: she admits of no other means of usefulness than those which she herself has to propose: as she studies carefully to adapt herself to the peculiar character of each nation, it is

a long time before her own is discovered, otherwise were she to unmask herself and appear as she truly is, men would soon know how they must deal with her. Un-identified in interests with the social body, her priesthood will ever aim at governing; and as they are continually failing in their attempts to bring civil society into accordance with their system, their constant effort must be to domineer over it, that so they may be able to maintain their position.

If it should strike the reader that a very great proportion of what is here written is allotted to the abuses of Rome, let it be remembered what it is that now stands in the way of ameliorations of every kind what is the great incubus upon human society in Europe! One would think indeed, that its impotency and insufficiency as a system have become clearly manifest; that its effects have, alas! been long enough experienced by princes and rulers for them to discern its true character; and, being persuaded that Romanism is the innovation, the corruption in Christianity, seek at length for the "old paths." While by their care and study peace is preserved, the horrors of war averted, and the dangerous contingency of displacing well-poised interests excluded; it must likewise be felt, that what *leaves all in jeopardy*, what stands most in the way of a full, universal settlement, and presents the *elements most pregnant with danger*, are *the religious interests* which remain *unadjusted* and unharmonized. Several large and influential countries have yet a clergy maintaining connexion with Rome, complicating greatly and continually the general affairs of those countries. Civil governments understand one

another; but the effects of this good understanding are to a very important degree impaired, and sometimes almost neutralized, through the influence of a claim set up by a Bishop in Italy; whose pretensions moreover are altogether apart from the real, regenerating, and sanctifying purpose of Christianity for the good of individuals and of communities.

A strange anomaly does the Pope's domination present! Nations fearlessly assert their independence in every other respect, but are content to be vassals to Rome in matters of Religion; while the old paths of primitive Scriptural religion are open to them, which conduct to safety, peace, and happiness. While also it is notorious to every one, that the Pope's power is a usurped power, which he is holding in defiance of law, both civil and ecclesiastical, as we have shewn above.

This state of things has been endured long enough, and an assent, which may be said to be general, indicates that it may now safely be put a stop to. For were each kingdom to be taken in succession, and were each individual, capable of coming to a sound judgment, called upon for his free and unbiassed opinion upon this question, viz. "whether it be preferable that the Romish system should continue, or that a system truly Catholic and truly national should occupy its place?" it would soon be ascertained how, upon a multiplicity of grounds, the discarding of the Romish system would be called for.

The abolition of the Inquisition has destroyed the sanction by which Romanism was able to maintain itself; this alternative therefore arises, that governors

must either consent to the reestablishment of that tribunal, or else facilitate the voluntary, intelligent, acquiescence of nations in the system of Christianity.

What facilities for directing religious affairs do governments obtain by connexion with Rome, which can at all be put in comparison with the detriment the public weal experiences by reason of that connexion? She promises indeed, in return for her yoke being submitted to, uniformity and quiet; but as regards the state of so many of those under her control; in considering either their indifference or their superstitious fanaticism—to every discerning mind—to every truly religious, feeling heart—her uniformity is the uniformity of the grave, her quiet the quiet of the slumbering volcano. By wisdom and by decision in legislating, and by energy in administration, every desideratum would without difficulty be supplied. The action of governments is now, through God's favour, so happily established throughout all the countries of Europe, with but few exceptions, that the instrumentality of a National and Catholic Church would readily find its place in the general machinery for governing.

As regards the mutual relations between states, there need not necessarily be a priority among the Patriarchs of independent nations holding the Catholic doctrine and the Catholic discipline. No such priority existed among the primitive Eastern Patriarchates; no precedency need even be granted for the purposes of presiding, which has proved dangerous in times past; but a cycle laid down, by which each would preside in his turn over such Congresses of Prelates as

well as over such General Councils of the Church as Princes should find it necessary to cause to be held, over and above the National Synods which may assemble in order to assert the existence and independency, and to regulate the affairs of each particular National Church. Since we do not necessarily look for a primacy among the Sovereigns in the different kingdoms of Europe, but a spirit of equitable respect for reciprocal rights and independency suffices to maintain the balance of power in the temporal state, how much more may not the same good understanding be expected to prevail in the adjustment of Ecclesiastical relations, wherein a spirit of Christian love and brotherhood would more eminently preside. Congresses of Sovereigns have undoubtedly contributed to bring about the existing public order and feeling, moved by a right apprehension of the evils which spring from popular anarchy as well as military despotism: might not conferences of Primates, Metropolitans, and Patriarchs, produce a similar good understanding in the Ecclesiastical state, on a view and out of an apprehension of the great evils which spring from an attempted universal primacy on the one hand, as well as from the absence of Church order and discipline on the other? There exists an understanding for the maintenance of general order and public good in Europe as well as for the balance of power: Ecclesiastical relations would follow the same rule whenever opportunities calling for co-operation to any good end should present themselves. And these connexions in sacred things would come in to strengthen and hallow the other relations on temporal affairs.

Princes and Rulers have now in a great measure ceased to refuse being taught by the great lessons of the past: they are wisely willing also to heed the admonitions of the proximate and the future.

To them by the adjudication of God's providence—more conspicuous perhaps even than usual at the present time—is the office committed of directing the nascent feelings of Religion. So many clouds which threatened to bring storms and whirlwinds have been dispersed: so many merciful and special deliverances have been experienced, that they must be alive to their responsibilities, as well as have an entire confidence in that same Divine Power which has protected them hitherto [b].

If it be desirable that the tranquillity and prosperity which we now express our thankfulness to God for, should be secured through the aid and instrumentality of Religion, there will be occasion for the exercise of a wise forethought—before men's feelings come to be passionately engaged on the side of conflicting religious opinions; before one statesman comes forward and says, "I am the protector of the Romam Catholic Creed," and another, "I am the protector of the Protestant,"—while all should be members together of the Church Catholic—bound by their profession to live in harmony and brotherly love, bound to exemplify the Christian law of Charity in living for the glory of God and each other's good!

There has been hitherto, alas! too much a race of

[b] Can it be true, as is reported, that the formula "in the Name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity," is now left out in diplomatic documents, and that since 1814!

rivalry, destruction, and bloodshed; can there not now be between nations an emulation of virtue, good offices, and reciprocal elements of prosperity?

Who can bear to see Europe threatened with being again torn, to see the nations distracted, with a prospect of being plunged hereafter into infidelity!

The struggle to establish social order, when once the political barriers were broken down, was truly fearful; its duration was *a quarter of a century!* Let the struggle to restore order, if the religious elements of society should be put into commotion, be contemplated and anticipated!

Governments have combined together for the abolition of the slave trade; what is now to hinder them from being occupied with loosing the bands of error—and unbelief—striking off the fetters of folly and wickedness? Anarchy and military homicide have, through God's mercy, been brought to a close; what a noble work opens before the view, remaining still to be entered upon! namely, the best means for suppressing infidelity and vice, and for bringing in happiness, individual, domestic, and public.

Let us then have a holy boldness in promoting a most holy purpose. As the object is excellent, so are the means *good;* we have on our side right, law, and order; the way we have to proceed is a *sure* way; in which there can be no failure unless we ourselves should depart from order and from truth.

Let a primitive national Christianity rear its standard, and men will no longer remain as much as they have done, without professing decidedly any mode of religion; but when He who "made us and all things" is

acknowledged, some will desire to know of the ways of pleasantness, liberty, and peace, which the soul finds in the service of Him; a nation can then own its God and call upon Him as a nation, and find that it is Religion which exalteth together individuals and nations.

The battle is the Lord's; though the *weak in faith* will be allowed to quake and tremble, yet to those who will stand out fearlessly on His side, He reserves the victory always ensured to faith with uprightness [c]. The question at issue with the Church of Rome and with undisciplined anarchy is not only one of abstract truth or error, of usurped or lawful influence; but it is a matter that is vital for a country, involving, as we have seen, the very conditions of its existence. The fault may be irreparable, should the voice of the Romish priesthood be now heeded, and reliance placed upon their promises of influence: the day of their power is gone by, however the phantom may be fondly clung to by some misled imaginations. A contest seems to be approaching in Europe, between *plain common sense* and Jesuitism; this latter spirit appears to be penetrating and pervading every where, and it will have to be seen whether this perversion of thought or a nation's right sense is to prevail.

In proportion as a *spirit of true Catholicity* arises in Europe; in proportion as men through a thousand different channels come to learn they have been misled, and

[c] The public National prayer for George III. during his illness in 1804, contained the following words: "Grant, O Lord, that in the present crisis, he may be thy blessed instrument of restoring peace to the distracted world:" and although his reason was veiled, the octogenarian monarch's life was spared until after the restoration of universal peace.

begin to see on one side the errors of the Romish Church, and on the other the danger and sin of a want of order; it must be expected that an alarm will be sounded, and that efforts will be made to stop the progress of this feeling. But there will be *no* opposition from all those who truly value the souls of their fellow men, and who truly desire the glory of God, and the well-being of all. Every one who is not committed to Ultramontanism will see the reasonableness of practising a religion that *has power;* and the non-episcopalian will be able to find a refuge against anarchy both in discipline and in doctrine; and if there should further be any unpatriotic, republican, insubordinate spirits, they will then be made manifest.

The object set forth in these pages cannot be reproached with being either unreasonable or impracticable. The states of Europe are already *one Christian body,* and it is fitting that it should be organized in the bond and power of Christian charity. *One light* has arisen upon all these occidental countries; how dimmed in some places, how intercepted, and through what means, the preceding pages may in some degree help to discover. Other bonds there may be of polity, or of commercial intercourse, or of scientific, literary, and other advantages; but a bond higher still and nobler is attainable, a more elevated and lasting ground of connexion; in the "Unity of the Spirit," with one common faith, and one common hope, as true disciples of that Saviour whose name we bear. We all wish that what is done for the happiness of countries should be abiding; but where shall we look for elements of durability, save in the practical teaching and actual

carrying out of the "everlasting" law and revelation of God, which once changed the face of the world, and can alone now renew and preserve it? There is no other way but by spiritual things that the nations can ever make progress towards a *real* union, or the individuals of the human family truly look upon each other as brethren.

But the task were doubtless too great on an occasion like the present, to endeavour adequately to elevate the thought to the contemplation of God's work in the world, such as we are called to realize it in the Christian Church, viewed in all her excellencies and privileges and purity. With one more remark will we now conclude, as a testimony to the efficacy of the means which God has afforded by His revelation for conferring happiness upon mankind.

Have efforts made to benefit society prospered *without religion?* Religion will be found, in a greater or less degree, to have been at the root of all the great changes that have proved beneficial and permanent. Need we recal the Revolution of 1688, the object of which was the exclusion of Romish error and abuses, and so essentially religious, that in the famous "Declaration of Rights" the legislature proclaim, that they consider it "*a marvellous providence and merciful goodness of God to this nation . . . for which from the bottom of their hearts they return their humblest thanks and praises.*"

Again in 1830, in France, although not so expressly, yet was the motive in some degree a religious one, namely, to repress a deep religious evil—the bigotry and hypocrisy which like a deluge were spreading over the country; and to overthrow an Ultra-

montane influence which shewed itself, not only by an interference with the secular power, but by the obtaining extravagant legacies from dying persons for superstitious purposes, with such a flagrant disregard to equity and the claims of relatives, that the courts of law felt called upon to interfere.

The movement that has been abiding in Spain and in Portugal comprehended a religious object likewise, namely, removing the abuses of the monastic orders. It is remarkable, however, that in Spain, from the moment concessions were made, and Romanism, regaining some of its ground, was recognised as the State religion, and negociations were resumed with the Pope—so soon did the destinies of that kingdom become more complicated, and seem to retrograde.

What is it but Romanism that weighs down the States of South America? Is then their possession of the fullest and freest independency of no avail? It is true, they do possess political liberty, but *religious* liberty they have not! The See of Rome still enslaves them under her degrading despotism, and binds them down with the chains of bigotry and superstition. Boyer, the late president of the Republic of Hayti, being once asked, What above all things he desired for that island? answered, "*Education*—I mean, *Religious education*, similar to that which is given in Jamaica:" but which the Romish communion, alone permitted in Hayti, could not and would not afford!

No movement, then, in favour of man's welfare can expect to be permanent, unless founded on religion. God is a God loving order, as well as (to use the language of the Schools) of light and of progress. Yes!

countries may have been relieved from oppression of various kinds, but if they are to have their prosperity established, let them be relieved of this foreign incubus likewise; more fitly compared, perhaps, to a Vampyre drying up the life's blood of each kingdom, and which, brooding over them, prevents that healthy developement and circulation in the social body, which would prepare it for energy, vigour, and usefulness.

Let us by our efforts, as well as by our prayers, hasten the day of concord, amity, and beneficial intercourse among the nations! Let us hasten the day when there will be less a dread of any contagion for evil, than an expectation and a purpose of emulation for good. Let those who are in a position to be interested for the improvement and happiness of others, not themselves lose the opportunity of becoming first of all personally partakers in the same benefits.

In obeying the precept, to "seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness," one may expect the promise to be fulfilled, that "all other things will be added unto us:" by acting up to the human instrumentality which God requires for the advancement of His kingdom, we shall accomplish all that is in our power towards establishing the general security together with our own; we shall promote, not only the *temporal interests* of others, but likewise their ETERNAL GOOD: and there will then remain more leisure for attending to the things of our own soul, the things which make for our present as well as for our Everlasting Peace.

NOTES.

Note A. p. 10.

It would seem that some sectarians make no pretensions even to this. They give the Bible, content themselves with so doing, and appear to leave *the mode* of Christianity to adjust itself. Thus, Annual Reports of Societies have stated that Bible hawkers, (Colporteurs,) are directed, when they are asked if they are Protestants, to answer," We are Christians," disclaiming any connexion with a visible body of believers. This single trait is enough to characterize a system—the giving the Bible without any attendant institutions to regulate and direct its use.

Note B. p. 12.

" Lorsque je saisis le timon des affaires j'avais déja des idées arrêtées sur tous les grands éléments qui cohésionnent la société; j'avais pesé toute l'importance de la religion; j'étais persuadé et j'avais résolu de la rétablir. Mais on croirait difficilement les résistances que j'eus à vaincre pour ramener le Catholicisme. Ou m'eût suivi bien plus volontiers si j'eusse arboré la bannière protestante." *Mémorial de St. Helenè*, tome 3. part 5.

The copy of a Protestant New Testament given by Josephine Beauharnois to Buonaparte shortly after their marriage, with an inscription in Josephine's hand-writing, was in the possession of Talleyrand; whence it passed into the library of His Royal Highness the late Duke of Sussex.

Note C. p. 16.

The following is an instance of the effects of Image worship. In the year 1827 or 28, the French Government erected a monument in honour of the Abbé Barthélémy, the laborious author of the "Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis," in the public square of his native place, near Marseilles. A few trees were planted around, and the whole enclosed by a neat iron railing. It required much pains for some time afterwards to prevent the country people as they came into the town from kneeling before this effigy: it was difficult to make some understand that they were *not* to say their prayers before the image of the Abbé Barthélemy! Other well-authenticated instances, equally painful and humiliating, might be adduced.

Note D. p. 17.

Those persons who having no place in society are ever ready through any violent means forcibly to obtain one, are the most dangerous of all its members, as the history of every insurrectionary movement can testify. Thinking themselves wronged by society, they wish to seize what they consider they are unjustly deprived of; and for the defects and vices of society, would willingly punish society by destroying it, not having any sympathies or endearing ties to bind and to restrain them. The wisdom of the framers of the French Code of Laws was very conspicuous in this particular, viz. that while their efforts were directed to raising society out of its ruins, they invested with particular honour and privileges the matrimonial engagement. The name of Count Portalis deserves to be mentioned with honour in connection with this great act of legislative labour. Civil enactments, however, still leave Religion to do her part of exhibiting the original purpose of God in establishing marriage; and an obedience to His will, with the fear of Him, as being alone able to elevate and hallow it.

Note E. p. 20.

The desecration of the Sabbath in France is very generally animadverted upon. Without any intention of extenuating in the slightest degree its culpability, it will be but fair to consider how deficient are the means for observing it. The reason once given by a functionary for the continuing of public works on the Sunday was, that as the men *would* take the Monday as well as the Sunday to recreate, and as two days in the week would be too great a cessation from labour, they allowed the men at their own request to work on the Sunday: " especially, he added, as they wont go to church, and they would only go outside the barriers and get demoralized."

The Minister of Marine in France has recently issued an Ordonnance enjoining entire cessation from labour in the public dockyards on Sundays: and the motive assigned is, " that the State is desirous that the Sunday should be kept." This is certainly an act which we would wish to meet with our best commendation, and to hail as the dawn of a better order of things; fervently hoping that any administration truly paternal would desire not only that the workmen should *have* the repose of the Sabbath, but that it should likewise *become profitable* by their manner of spending it; and it will have carefully to be ascertained whether the religious services they can attend are likely to *elevate* and *form* their character: otherwise this boon will become a *hurtful* leisure, whether they increase in immorality, or get committed to an aggravated fanaticism, or to infidelity.

Note F. p. 23.

The " Gazette Medicale," a highly valued medical periodical published at Paris, being called upon to account for the great number of suicides which in the year 1833 prevailed with almost the character of an epidemic, creating anxiety and consternation in families,—the cause assigned, very remarkably, was, *the absence* of religious *convictions*, which

suffered men to destroy themselves. The statistics of Suicides in France for the year 1841, contained in the Report of the Minister of Justice, present some very distressing features. There were many children *under ten* years of age: and what is more heartrending than all, a very large proportion of aged persons, of sixty, seventy, and upwards, who had gone out of existence by their own hands; having no religious feeling to soothe the pain of suffering, and smooth down their way to the tomb!

Note G. p. 24.

A young lady at Toulon, upon experiencing some delay in a union which she was looking forward to contract, and some slight incident of an unpleasant character occurring at home about the same time, made her confessor her confidant. He persuaded her to repair for a time to a convent in a neighbouring town, whither he himself conveyed her in a hired carriage, without the knowledge or approbation of her parents. The young lady was entitled to a handsome fortune, and knew the English language well, having been born in England during the time of emigration. This prize was too valuable, and she was likely to be too useful to them to be suffered to escape: she has never come out of the convent since.

A respectable woman came up from Toulon in the capacity of housekeeper in the family of General —— near Paris. She sent her daughter to school at a convent in the Faubourg St. Germain, where, under various pretences of teaching her ornamental needlework, &c. the child remained until she was about sixteen. At that time family circumstances obliging the mother to return to Toulon, she wished to remove her daughter, and take her with her. But the daughter refused to obey her mother's injunctions, and the nuns refused to give her up: "So," said the poor woman, shedding tears, "what am I to do? for they have absolutely robbed me of my child: now too that I require her assistance, for I am beginning to grow old." It is in this manner they make up their nunneries!

Other instances far more atrocious than these might be mentioned, especially one of a son torn from his mother. These two have, however, come under the writer's personal knowledge.

Note H. p. 35.

The *Annales de la Société pour la Propagation de la Foi* for the years 1839, 40, and *passim*, may be consulted on this as well as many other curious facts. It is not generally known that the *entire direction* of foreign missions, pertaining to the Church of Rome was committed exclusively to the *Society of Jesuits*, by a decree of the Pope, about the year 1839.—*Quere.* Are the Romish operations in England included among the " foreign missions?"—consequently transferred to the Jesuits' direction by the wily concession they then obtained.

The manner in which the Romanists initiate their missions strongly contrasts with the practice of Christians in general. When the latter send missionaries into a field of labour, it is in their true character, and avowing openly their object; whereas the Romish missionaries move about in various disguises and with various pretences: and it is not until some time after they have settled and think they may brave any opposing power, that they appear in their true character as ecclesiastics of Rome and disciples of Loyola. Such modes of proceeding are no more calculated to turn to the *national honour* than their settlements are to *bring finally* any *national profit.*

Note I. p. 37.

While we mourn over the extinction of so auspicious a manifestation of nationality against Popery, and of truth against Romish error as was the Jansenist movement, we are bound to recollect that it was their cleaving to Rome both as regards doctrine and discipline that was fatal to them. Their blind obedience to a foreign See, and their refinement on the doctrine of transubstantiation, which carried them even so far as to

establish the perpetual adoration of the host, were sufficient of themselves to neutralize whatsoever they did for the advancement of God's truth: they adhered closely to her bosom, and the unnatural mother pressed them barbarously to death in her embrace!

Note K. p. 44.

This has reference especially to the figure of the "Père Eternel"—represented as an old man with a long white beard and outstretched arms, so commonly seen at the top of paintings in Roman Catholic countries.

One of the grossest calculations upon the people's ignorance of the Scriptures may be seen in a pair of large sized engravings published in Paris, representing the Virgin Mary and St. Joseph. Under the figure of the Virgin are those words of our Lord, (spoken of Himself,) Venite ad me omnes, "O come unto me all ye;" and under that of St. Joseph is a quotation from Genesis, "Ite ad Joseph," "Go unto Joseph"—the words of Pharaoh to those who came to buy corn! (Gen. xli. 55.) Such an amount of combined blasphemy, assurance, and folly could scarcely be looked for in so small a matter.

One permanent instance of audacity on the part of the Romish Church can be accounted for only on the ground of their refusing to let the Scriptures be possessed or read in the vulgar tongue. I mean, the suppression of the second Commandment of the Decalogue, which is altogether omitted in the Catechisms and in the doggrel verses into which the ten Commandments are rendered for general use among the people. This suppression gave rise to the following incident a few years ago: A French gentleman, whose residence in England had been sufficiently long to enable him to discern that God has planted here a sound branch of the Christian Church, which is truly Catholic yet not Roman, withdrew himself from the latter Communion, and became a member of the Anglican Church. The Romish priest was not long before he made a formal endeavour to gain him back. The argument which the

newly enlightened person made use of was the following; "Here are," he said, opening a Roman Catholic book of devotions, "the ten Commandments, such as you present them to us; and here are," he continued, opening a Bible, "those same Commandments, as they are given in the Scriptures, whence you pretend to derive them. Now in your book, I find one Commandment, that is the second, a most important one, *wholly omitted;* as therefore you have deceived me so grossly on this point which I am able to understand, I have good grounds for suspecting that your Church has deceived me on many others which I am not yet so capable of ascertaining; you cannot expect therefore I should have any further connexion with you." So saying he withdrew, and brought thus to an end his connexion with Romanism.

THE END.

BAXTER, PRINTER, OXFORD.

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Syr. 93.

THE

ANGLO-PRUSSIAN BISHOPRIC

OF ST. JAMES,

IN JERUSALEM.

TO WHICH ARE APPENDED,

REMARKS ON DR. M'CAUL'S SERMON

AT THE

CONSECRATION OF BISHOP ALEXANDER,

BY THE

REV. W. HOFFMANN,

INSPECTOR OF THE MISSIONARY SEMINARY AT BASLE.

Translated from the German.

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PREFACE.

THE following pamphlet was published at Freiburg, in Switzerland, and has excited great attention in Germany, both on account of the ability with which it is written, and the great interest at present felt in Protestant Europe respecting the subject of which it treats. The transaction to which the title refers, as well as the ostensible object of it, is sufficiently known in this country, viz., that a convention was entered into last year between England and Prussia, to establish a Bishopric at Jerusalem, the endowment of which should be furnished by the two powers, in equal shares, and which should receive under its protection and guidance, German as well as English ministers; the object being to afford protection and assistance to all such Christians as should settle in the Holy Land with missionary views. This plan was at first received with enthusiasm in Germany, at least a feeling of that kind was expressed by some journals which are considered as government organs. But when the plan began to be understood in all its bearings, a very different feeling arose in the minds of all who were attached to the Protestantism of Germany. It appears that attempts had before been made on the part of some who admired the Anglican church, to give the Protestant churches of Germany a similar form, or rather to obtain for the latter the true legitimacy of ordination which resided in the former. The Prussian ambassador, Chevalier Bunsen, is well known to have this object much at heart; and he has spared no pains, and thought no sacrifice too great on the part of his Protestant countrymen to bring this consummation about.

On former occasions, the demands of the Anglican church were so high that the union was thus prevented; but in the present case these demands, though not at all reduced, have been all submitted to on the part of the Prussian government. The manifesto of the Archbishop of Canterbury has very clearly stated what these are, and what is the ultimate object of the Anglican church, and of those who have called in her aid. The Bishop of Jerusalem has been already consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, according to Anglican rites. German clergymen are to repair to Jerusalem to receive ordination from this Anglican bishop, who are to swear obedience to him: the young members of their congregations are to come to the Anglican bishop for *confirmation*. By these, and various other regulations, it is provided that the church at Jerusalem shall be neither more nor less than a branch of the Anglican church. But the archbishop's manifesto proceeds to declare, that these measures are taken "with the hope that they may lead the way to an essential unity of discipline as well as doctrine between our own church and the *less perfectly constituted* of the Protestant churches of Europe." These hopes of the primate were at once perceived by those acquainted with previous movements to exhibit the "soul and essence" of the Anglo-Prussian contract: that all the sons of the German Reformation are here declared to possess no church; and in order to give them one, it was necessary that the leaven of the Anglican church should be infused into their unconsecrated mass. Now, the Protestants of Germany are far from entertaining bigoted objections to the Church of England; the form of government under which they live would probably make them less impatient of interference with religious liberty than we should be. But they are by no means believers in the divine right of episcopacy. The article of Smalcalde on this subject expressly declares that, "according to divine right, there is no difference between bishops and priests." There is, perhaps, hardly a Protestant theologian in Germany who does not regard apostolical succession as a mere Romish fiction; and whatever the extravagances of German theology may have been, from which, however, it is fast recovering, the anti-Protestant importance given by the Anglican church to the outward form has never

once been among them; and those doctrines which may be regarded as the essence of evangelical religion—viz., that the Scriptures are our only rule of doctrine, and faith in Christ our only *justification*, but which, in fact, the Anglican church has always loosely held, are cherished by German protestants as the dearest inheritance of their reformation.

We cannot be surprised, therefore, if they should examine with some minuteness the claims of the Anglican church to become the regenerator of the religion of the world; and the following pamphlet contains a masterly review of the English Reformation, and of the Anglican system which has grown out of it, as compared with that religious development which was the fruit of the learning, the light, the prayers, and the spiritual sufferings of the Protestant world. And while the author freely allows that many a holy and useful servant of Christ has laboured, and many spiritual blessings have existed, within the pale of the former, he shews that it has always been *in spite* of that system which is now to be forced upon the latter as the *means and essence* of its usefulness. This pamphlet has been laid before the British public under a conviction that the subject deeply concerns all serious Christians of every class. That the spirit of Antichrist, in a most seductive form, is making its way on all hands, and that its influence on spiritual religion is most seriously deleterious, is more and more apparent. The spirit of Loyola, though robbed of its chivalry, and enfeebled in its virtue by its long abode in the dust, is again abroad in the world. It has inspired a most formidable body with the same idea of using every means, good and bad, the weapons of the flesh and those of the spirit, with the sole view of putting down everything that is not obedient to its own outward ideal. Though some may be more extravagant than others, they are in the main *united* as one man in pursuit of their antichristian aim. Why should not all who cherish the true doctrines of the Reformation, who see in the progress of them the real advancement of Christ's spiritual kingdom, be united too? Why not drop every minor difference for the sake of that which we all *profess* to love far more than our own peculiarities, and in this hour of urgent necessity, in which the enemy has only to divide that he may conquer, suspend our mutual rencontres at least till our common cause is out of danger?

THE ANGLO-PRUSSIAN BISHOPRIC,

ETC.

After the old-fashioned dread of the Turks had passed away, *the East* was for a long time removed sufficiently far from the direct and practical regards of civilized Europe. In the beginning of the present century only it again acquired an importance which has been constantly increasing. Almost every ten years have brought occurrences there which have reacted more or less strongly on the west, and have drawn the eyes even of the most profane towards the sacred east. The first event which connected anew the fate of Europe, on a grand scale, with what was passing on eastern soil was the expedition of Buonaparte into Egypt. Since then the bloody strife between the Turks and Greeks, the Russian wars with Persia and the Sultan, the reforms of Mahmud after the suppression of the Janissaries, the establishment of a new kingdom and a new dynasty by Mehemet Ali in Egypt, have followed each other in rapid succession. The fruits of all this have shewn themselves in the threatening catastrophe of the chaliphat of Stambul, and this has produced for Europe *the Eastern Question*. That the contest which on that account began on the coasts of Syria should appear to require to be settled, not long since, on the banks of the Rhine, is itself sufficient proof how nearly we are afresh interested in the east. But apart from political, what a multitude of other relations have been formed anew. In spite of the insecurity of the seas, by the prevalency of piracy during the Greek revolution, in spite of Mehemet Ali's monopoly system and the confusion of Turkish affairs, the trade of the Levant increased by means of the new necessities which the period of reform and revolutions called forth, even amidst oriental indolence, to say nothing of Greece. Troops of bold adventurers, from all countries of the west, felt themselves willingly drawn into the confused entanglement of eastern relations, by the enticements of ambition, the hope of gain, or mere romantic notions. Practical men in the arts both of peace and war were called from the service of the allied powers by Mahmud and his insolent vassal, to help and guide them in their reforms. Inquirers in every department of science enjoyed the protection of warlike expeditions, or the firmans of despots

intent on civilization, but especially the more Europeanized circumstances which existed under Egyptian rule, in order to collect whatever was remarkable in those remote, and till then scarcely accessible, corners of the earth.

Since Burckhardt's genius, devoted as it was to the inheritance of Shem, paved the way, what a variety of spirits, with what various motives, felt themselves impelled towards the torpid east. Schubert and "the Defunct," Lamartine and the Eremite of Gauting, Father Enfantin and Russegger, Fallinerayer and Rüppell, Laborde and Robinson, Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, and Wolff, the eccentric missionary of the Jews, crossed those countries in all directions of geography and their own mental impulses. Nay, moreover, a long train of insular tourists has in our days begun to find there an object for their pilgrimages.

If we might assert that modern Europe, with her transatlantic appurtenances, contains in a renewed form all the essential tendencies of the middle ages, the remark would equally apply to the pilgrimages to the east in our days. Whatever in former times was there sought by princes of the west intent on conquest, by the merchant of Amalfi, Pisa, and Venice, by Marco Polo and Rubruquis, by the pilgrim with his staff and gourd-bottle,—all these interests and motives now find their representatives there in the fashion of our age. Religion too—yes, even religion, in spite of the sceptical reputation of the age, does not occupy the last place among these motives. Although the Latin Monks of the convent of Terra Sancta in Jerusalem, who had lost their alms from Italy and the Pyrenean peninsula, and were only allowed to shelter a few Catholic pilgrims, began to entertain the idea that modern heretics surpassed the orthodox in zeal for pilgrimage; though the Maronite church, united for centuries with Rome, has only within the last ten years been made acquainted with the papal condemnation of her Jansenite synod in 1804; no time was allowed to be lost before the watchful Jesuit mission again recognised the importance of that ancient territory, and supported by the revived protection of France, established a college in Antura, which, as from a centre, should extend its missionary efforts not only to Maronite Christians, but to those in the most distant parts of Syria, Chaldea, and Persia. The result of the journey of Schubert and of Duke Maximilian to Palestine was not only renewed liberality of Catholic piety bestowed upon the sacred places, but also renewed Catholic pilgrimages from this side the Alps. Jerusalem was again considered by Catholicism as a relic so much the more valuable, as Protestants had now taken an interest in it heretofore unknown. As though the youngest church had felt the greatest longing after the cradle-land of Christianity, and the tenderest love for the almost decayed fragments of the ancient churches, the Americans were the first to be seen treading the soil of Palestine with religious awe. They who still sustain the chief care for the neglected Nestorians of the Curdish mountains, for the widely scattered Armenians, and the

reformist Druses—soon after Jowett had reconnoitred, were followed by English missionaries, who came with the view of stirring up the Greek Christians who spoke Arabic, by the extension of the Scriptures, and of making use of the monastic colonies of other communions—the Abyssinians for instance—for learning their language, and obtaining such instruction as should give them a more propitious entrance into the chief countries. But most of all must the interest of the mission to the Jews have been directed towards the Holy Land, not only because a large body of Jews still lives there, but because thence a decided influence proceeds upon all adherents of the ancient Jewish faith in the world, which attracts thither constant pilgrimages of pious Israelites who wish to die in the Holy Land, a multitude of such as "wait for the consolation of Israel." If, therefore the Scottish church, some years since, sent a special commission to the spot to make observations, and to lay their plans for taking a firm hold on the work, the English Episcopal Missionary Society to the Jews has already had for years able missionaries there, whose labours were attended with cheering prospects, from the conversion of many influential rabbis, and from a general ferment among the Jews; and the building of a temple on Mount Zion for Jewish Christians, begun under Egyptian rule, owes its present stoppage, according to report, to Catholic intrigues, because they did not wish just yet to exhibit a worship freed from all appearance of idolatry, however important such a sight might be to Jews and Mohammedans, after former prohibitions had been insufficient to turn aside the desire prevailing even among Mohammedans for reading the Scriptures. If thus, a real practical Christian interest has, in our times, been directed towards the east, it is no wonder that it should trace the changes of political relations there, in their influence on the progress of the mission, with eager attention, and should make use of them with zeal and circumspect activity. The Roman Catholic and orthodox Greek churches, which had always maintained their monastic positions during the long period in which the Crescent was triumphant, in this way obtained protection, the former from the power of France, the latter from that of Russia, which, as we remarked, has revived in modern times. But those positions which had much more recently been taken up by Protestant church communities here and there in the east, especially in Syria and Palestine, really needed such an external protecting power; their existence must have continued very precarious—threatened as they were on one side by the universal lawlessness of the rajahs, on the other by the intriguing jealousy of the older churches established there—if they had not been strongly favoured by the dominant circumstances of the times. Among these circumstances, the extension of the power of Mehemet Ali over the Syrian provinces was that which stood most prominently forward. It was, of course, of great importance to the interests of the calculating Pacha of Egypt, to spread abroad in Europe a high opinion of his enlight-

cned character. To this end he could not choose a more suitable plan, than to abolish the lawless power of the rajahs, and to put an end to the savage decapitating brutality of the Turks against the Christians. He thus acquired a false reputation for high-minded tolerance and kindly humanity, which produced for him in Europe a greater and clearer gain, in proportion as he lost at home by his poll-tax extortions, levied in the old Turkish style, and which won for him a wider and more lively sympathy, as he alienated the fellahs by his shameless monopolies, and his men-hunting expeditions. However, the power of the old crafty Pacha brought about a kind of golden age for the Christians in Egypt and Syria, and almost wiped off the memory of the nameless abominations committed by Egyptian soldiers upon the Greeks, in their struggles for liberty, even before the princely muse of the over-flattered Puckler Muscau had gratefully wound the olive wreath about the brow of the chief of Rumeliot bandits.

Most serious concern, therefore, was felt by many pious men, who feel a hearty interest in the propagation of the kingdom of Christ in the land of its birth, when, by virtue of stipulations entered into by the Four Powers, after the battle Nisib, and enforced in 1840 by their arms, the Syrian provinces were separated from Egypt, and again subjected to the immediate sway of the Padisha. It was naturally feared that all the horrors of the old Turkish tyranny would return. No man could believe in the promises of the firman of Gülhane, especially as the reform party of the divan was put down soon after the overthrow of Halil Pacha, and the well-known decapitators regained the chief place in the council of Abdul Medschid; a general outcry arose in Europe for *guarantees* for the safety of the Christian population of the east, which was more strongly echoed on account of the horrors of the massacre at Damascus, which occurred a short time before, though the veil of mystery spread over it still remains. Various plans were proposed, which, according to general belief, could be easily brought about by the allied powers, who had just laid the sultan under so great obligations—the chief of which was, to colonize Palestine by European and oriental Christians, and to form a republic of Jerusalem under the protection of the great Christian powers. Even in our own country a religious philanthropic interest of no common kind was directed to the Holy Land, at the very time when Strauss and Feuerbach were the order of the day. It was then reported that Frederick William IV., who had not long before ascended the throne, was devoting his attention with special interest to this subject. A confidant of the king, in the person of Chevalier Bunsen, went on a special mission to London, which, under colour of family interests, did not, and indeed was not intended, to remain long concealed. The well-known character of the ambassador was alone sufficient proof that something different was intended by this mission from the objects of common diplomacy, that in the negotiations entered on, ecclesiastical interests would be represented, and

this by a man who had already won some reputation as a theological dilettante. The frequent conferences of the chevalier with the highest dignitaries of the English church, served to add weight to the general surmises. When, behold, after some months, a statement, not much noticed at the time, ran through the newspapers, of the passing of a bill in Parliament, by which the English Episcopacy was empowered to consecrate bishops abroad ; and not long after, in the month of October or November, appeared the following document, which was first published in the " Missionary Magazine" of the Moravians, printed at Hamburg :—

" We, Frederick, by the grace of God, King of Prussia, &c., hereby declare and make known, that we are willing to contribute one-half of the sum necessary for the endowment of a Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem, and have destined thereto the sum of 15,000*l.* sterling, which sum we have so disposed, that 600*l.*, the interest of it, should be handed over to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London as Trustees of the said bishopric, in yearly payment, as the moiety of the annual income of the Bishop of Jerusalem. That in case a safe and profitable investment of this sum should hereafter be resolved upon ; in order to which, however, by virtue of the moiety granted by us, our previous consent is necessary, the said capital of 15,000*l.* shall be paid over in cash to the trustees, an acknowledgment of which shall be contained in the deed of endowment, together with a covenant, that any overplus beyond 600*l.*, which may arise from the investment of this capital, shall not go to the increase of the bishop's income, but shall be added to the endowment of the bishopric. In witness whereof, we have executed the present grant of endowment. Given at Holbnitz, near Jaur, 6th September, 1841.

(Signed) Frederick William."

At the same time, an explanatory article appeared in the " Prussian State Gazette," which intimated that it was the object of this foundation to procure Protestant Christians of the German nation the same advantages in the Turkish dominions, as those which the Catholics had long enjoyed, and to strive, on behalf of the German Protestant church, for the right of assembling her professors on the scene where Christianity began, and of freely proclaiming the truth of the gospel according *to her own confession and liturgy*. Orders were also issued for a collection in the churches for the founding of a hospital, in which travellers might be received who should go to Jerusalem in the interests of science or religion—Observe, Protestant pilgrimages !

There is an innocent enthusiasm which claps hands with childish excess whenever something splendid appears, whenever, under pretence of good, pious, benevolent intention, a phenomenon makes its appearance with the show of what is great and momentous. This enthusiasm, which is well in its own way, was excited when the plan of the Anglo-Prussian bishopric of Jerusalem came to light,

and was specially fostered by certain articles of correspondence in the Allgemeine Zeitung, (Nos. 294, 317—322,) which correctly presented the appearance of a greater acquaintance with many lofty objects, especially *tending to unity*, than were allowed to come out in the official document.

Very different from this enthusiasm was the reception which this document, with its demi-official commentaries, met with from the rest of the public. All that could be made out respecting it seemed to be, that in the new bishopric something had been obtained which nobody expected, much less desired. We do not here allude to a state of mind which is either dead or hostile to the interests of the church, and which grudges her every protection, nor to that spirit of petty trade which would have preferred to see the endowment money spent on something *more useful;* nor to that narrow-minded wish of some, to keep the beloved money, at any rate, in their own country; nor do we allude to the decidedly unfavourable view of the matter taken by the Roman Catholics. All this was perfectly natural. It must, however, on the other hand, have appeared very remarkable, that in the organs of serious, prudent, Protestant Christian sentiments, on the Continent, not a single voice would give utterance to any particular pleasure, or lively assent.

It was as a so-called *event*, that the matter was commonly looked upon. To be sure, an event, a *political* combination which should be favourable for eastern Christians, had been hoped and wished for. But here, instead of a political event, a political combination, the event and combination were *ecclesiastical*. This circumstance suddenly turned the original interest into a quarter entirely different from that in which it arose. It was felt, that questions of inestimable importance were connected with this new foundation, while no one seemed to look further into the matter before it was completely settled. Some newspapers, particularly in South Germany, (as the "Swabian Mercury," the "Carlsruhe Gazette," for 1841, No. 345,) found this Anglo-Prussian combination so stumbling—so entirely opposed to the essential character of the two component factors, as stamped by history, that the riddle, according to them, could only be solved by supposing something in the background not yet revealed. And the matter so much the more remained a riddle, that the Prussian declaration for explaining the subject of the internal management of these factors presented nothing positive and definite. The English papers, however, gave us to understand one thing and another, which marvellously contrasted with that famous independency and national honour of the German Protestant church, which the treaty was to have guaranteed, and these statements were anything but refuted by the assertions of those well-informed correspondents of the Allgemeine Zeitung. This internal management of two factors here so unexpectedly brought into co-operation, not only offered to minds who are active in divining the usual bait for

curiosity, but it loaded some with a weight of anxiety which made it utterly impossible to leave the point first seized upon, so as to turn with true sympathy to the proclaimed object of the institution,—we mean, the anxiety *lest an eastern question should hence arise for the Protestant church of the continent of Germany, and particularly Prussia, which would have to be decided, not on the Syrian coast, but on the banks of the Rhine, the Saale, the Elbe, the Afree, the Oder, and the Vistula.*

It was known, for instance, that the idea of founding Protestant German colonies in Palestine had already called into existence in several places, as Basel and Düsselthal, special societies, which had raised considerable funds for the purchase of land, that, in fact, a deputation had been appointed to gain information on the spot, reckoning, as they had reason to do, on the attractions which the Holy Land would have for many religiously-disposed minds. But it was experienced that these intended Protestant churches, on which the Anglo-Prussian convention reckoned, were subjected to demands by the Bishopric of St. James, which might well have been spared them if the object had been to attract them thither, acknowledge and protect them, instead of being, as it truly was, merely to use them as materials for an edifice, whose towers should extend beyond the bounds of Palestine.

Those who had not forgotten what had already been done for twenty years, by persons who took part in this drama, to gain over Frederic William III. to the idea of an apostolical episcopate; who remembered, too, the statements which appeared in English church periodicals, and were transferred to German papers during the residence of a certain Prussian statesman in England in 1839—viz., that the necessity of having episcopacy founded on legitimate consecration was more and more urgently felt on the continent, and that measures for obtaining this from England might be expected soon, a report which numerous *clerici regionarii* in the English settlements along the Rhine confidently repeated; those, moreover, who were acquainted with the inquiries the same statesman had made in Paris and Belgium, whether and how the Protestant church might be placed there under episcopal government, could scarcely have any doubt as to how the case would be with the Bishopric of Jerusalem. There, it was said, in Mohammedan territory, where ecclesiastical and civil functions were blended, and where no ecclesiastical corporation could possibly be recognised by the state without its being represented by the bishop, a commencement might be made, with the greatest apparent naiveté, towards realizing the darling idea of setting up the golden calf, in which Protestantism might behold its image as a church. It might be reckoned that the rage for Palestine would be contented with what was left for it, and would silence any saucy critics who might arise, especially if such a fact in the world's history were seconded by a well-sustained *feu de joie* of newspaper volleys. A double advantage would be gained if Protestant churches could be formed

on these principles: first, an important precedent, which could be well employed against any future opposition at home to such an organization of churches; secondly, the seeds would be sown for a clergy legitimately ordained, which might, without creating disturbance, be transplanted, together with the bishop, to our own country. To suppose such views as these concealed behind the Anglo-Prussian convention required no proneness to suspicion, but only an estimate of the enormous sacrifice on the part of Prussia of all the principles of the Protestant church, which that convention itself made evident, as published by the English newspapers, in an official declaration of the primate. It was, in fact, of such a kind that it was lately thought better, on the remonstrance of the Porte, officially to disavow the thing on the part of the Prussian government, whereas far more important reasons existed for renouncing all share in it on the part of the Protestant church, and to let it pass as a purely English business, to which some German capital is contributed merely in a way of business, to the amount of 15,000*l.*, though certainly it is difficult to see how so many years should be required for that transaction. The denial of a convention secretly entered into in this case, is more easy, and may be of better consequences than that of another which is still distinctly remembered.

There are, however, two special points in the constitution of the bishopric of St. James, whose essentially unprotestant nature can be concealed by no explanatory circumlocutions and assurances. The first relates to confirmation, which is to be performed on all the members of the Protestant German churches by the bishop, according to the rites of the English church. It is clear that by this means her churches would by degrees become neither more nor less than Anglo-German churches, notwithstanding all that is said about retaining the national form of the church. It is also clear that by means of such a reservation the existence of the Protestant pastorate would be destroyed in its very foundation. What a sorry figure in a Protestant point of view would be cut by a pastor who, when his lambs had hitherto been fed by himself, must obediently bring them trained before a master! They are of course not his sheep; he is merely the labourer; the real shepherd stamps them with his own ruddle-mark.

A paper which commonly makes the best of everything, and which was the first, be it observed, to bring the Prussian document respecting this bishopric before the public—viz., the Moravian Holmsche Missionsblatt, added the soothing explanation, that confirmation was merely a rite and not a sacrament, that if it were reserved for the bishop, this was simply an outward ordinance of the church. This is all very well, but confirmation gives access to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, to full church-membership, and to reserve this for the bishop necessarily implies nothing else than to introduce an hierarchical supremacy into the relation between pastor and church, which the Protestant church of the continent

does not acknowledge, and which it cannot acknowledge except by the sacrifice of Protestant liberty. Besides, it is well known that the Anglican church reserves confirmation for the bishop, not as a mere outward ordinance, but because he alone possesses the spiritual power which belongs to it. Any good writer on the doctrines of the English church—for example, Stackhouse, will shew this. This point, therefore, is not of such a kind that the Protestant Christian can unite in it for the sake of a weak brother. And although it was at once resolved upon in the Anglo-Prussian convention, and was represented in a semi-official explanation as merely an outward ordinance to which an English bishop was constitutionally bound, a Protestant mind will see in it the case described by St. Paul to the Galatians, where one cannot give way for an instant on account of false brethren who betray our liberty. Why, it must be asked, should the projected German Protestant churches be disturbed in their possession of a clerical order long used and resting on good and deep principles, while the future Anglican churches were to be left in quiet possession of theirs? Were the latter, together with their bishops, so weak in Christian knowledge, so much under the influence of bigotry, that the peace of the church would have been disturbed thereby?—why then the time was not yet come to think of a union under one bishop, and if such a union were thought of, to be thus brought about. The idea involved a direct attack upon Protestant liberty in favour of the episcopalian hierarchy. The second point relates to the ordination of candidates who are to be appointed over the future churches as pastors by the bishop, upon the subscription of the thirty-nine articles, after having previously subscribed the Augsburg Confession at home. What a monstrosity of ecclesiastical law! Where shall we find in it a single spark, not of evangelical conscience, but of the most common logic! An article in the newspapers relating to the king's journey, (where an x is just put for a v, though the latter peeps through, and betrays a writer well acquainted with the subject) has published a direct falsehood in stating that the bishop will ordain after the Augsburg Confession, and this statement greatly edified Dr. Barth, who expressed his heartfelt joy in the Calw Missionary Magazine, that whereas formerly missionaries who had been ordained according to the Lutheran rites must submit to re-ordination, this distinction was now to be abolished. But if we listen to those half-official comments of the newspapers, which admit the naked facts of the case, this stipulation is just a proof of the watchful tenacity of the German churches, who are to retain their accustomed confession of faith and their German worship of their national peculiarities. But more of this hereafter. Has, then, the German Protestant church no other writings containing her creed than the Confession of Augsburg? If it should ever occur to such candidate or preacher to bring the chapter in the "article of Smalcalde," which relates to the power and jurisdiction

of bishops* to bear upon the minds of his church, not in a political, but in an ecclesiastical and confessional point of view, how would his bishop look at him?—that bishop, who, be it observed, ordained him upon signing the thirty-nine articles and taking the oath of obedience. But the Confession of Augsburg too—how does that concern the bishop? This must be signed at home before a competent authority, and a certificate only of such signature be presented to the bishop. For, says a newspaper apologist, it cannot be expected of an Anglican bishop that he should bind parties to other confessions besides the articles. This would be opposed to his own ecclesiastical obligations. Very well; the bishop therefore cannot be expected to watch over their doctrines in conformity with the Augsburg Confession; he has nothing to concern himself about as long as the thirty-nine articles are not infringed upon. In order to shew how poor a guarantee we have here for such a purity of Protestant doctrine as German Protestant Christians require, we need not point to Puseyite Pelagianism and merit of works, which in modern times can consist with the firm maintenance of the thirty-nine articles, without an English bishop's daring to assume the right of interfering, but to the whole history of Anglican orthodoxy, which was never anything else than a prudent latitudinarianism, to which the Protestant element, as maintained by the Methodists, and other sects, has for a century been opposed.

"In that sinful country," said Frederick William I., "there is no orthodoxy according to statute." That certificate, then, of a subscription elsewhere given to the Augsburg Confession, will say nothing more for the spiritual functions in the bishopric of St. James's, than a certificate of one's college studies or place of abode. The act upon which ordination and authority to exercise the spiritual office are imparted, is that which binds the party to adhere to the thirty-nine articles, over which the bishop alone has to watch. Accordingly we see here, as in the case of confirmation, that all which is peculiar to the nation and the faith of a German, except the language, is given up to Anglicanism, and as to the German liturgy, which is still *in petto*, it is entirely to harmonize with the Anglican, and is besides to be submitted to the sanction of the English episcopate, so that it will scarcely lay any proportionate weight in the opposite scale. Of this liturgy, as a preliminary *non ens*, we can strictly have nothing to say;—but if the predilection of the Prussian negotiator on the subject of a liturgy be considered, we shall not be far off in the conjecture that the German liturgy of the bishopric of St. James's will probably be a fit companion to the *Liturgia Jacobi*, and will scarcely satisfy the

* "Because, according to divine right, there is no difference between bishops and priests, there can be no doubt that if a priest in his own churches ordains any fit person to ecclesiastical offices, such ordination, according to divine right, is valid and right."

claim of the German Protestant churches. For this predilection has already raised itself a monument in the liturgy of the embassy at Rome, which, though unhappily too little known, is surely unique of its kind among Protestant productions—at any rate, it would be difficult to find anywhere else a communion service in which an offering to God is presented in the sacrament. But to return to the terms of ordination. A German consistory, it seems, is to require of the future preachers in the see of St. James, subscription to the Augsburg confession. What rights then, we ask, are thus given them? None at all, except that of travelling to Jerusalem, and there submitting to ordination. How long has it been customary in the German Protestant church to administer an oath without conferring a corresponding privilege? Is not this an insult against our ordinance of ordination, and even against common sense? What consistory will so far commit itself as to overstep its authority to such a degree, and to violate all custom and order of the national church by administering an oath without meaning, for the sake of despatching men so bound to a bishop, who, by virtue of another oath, is to give the Anglican ordination?

If, hitherto, the Missionary Institute at Basle has reluctantly acquiesced in sending pupils, who have been already prepared and ordained for missionary labour, to London to receive their only valid ordination, surely no official consistory will be guilty of a manœuvre which was scarcely allowable even to a private society, and whose only object could be to keep up the appearance of remaining within the pale of the Protestant church, while it was given up to Anglicanism. If the episcopally ordained candidates return home, it is clear, their ordination will be sufficient to render them clergymen of the Protestant church, (the apologists suppose they shall sufficiently comfort us when they assure us that no *special* appointment will be granted them,) while an ordination received at home would not have authorized them to officiate in the German churches in the bishopric of Jerusalem. If we must hear the foundation of this bishopric lauded as an era in the history of mankind, the forgetfulness of Protestant principles involved in the convention must be regarded as an equally important sign of the times, and it must have been considered a monument of hierarchical lust of power on the part of the Anglican church, which held up to view the enticements and present advantages of so specious a territory as the promised land, in order to encroach upon the borders of continental Protestantism, if we did not possess documentary proof that the idea of it did not originate with England. The English were quite contented with the bishopric of Malta, and the mission to the Jews at Jerusalem did not need a bishopric. But we have documents to shew that the German ambassador came with the proposition before the bench of bishops and the ministerial council, and that the latter eagerly seized upon it as favourable to the English influence in Syria. (The representa-

tion about German colonies, already with staff in hand, prepared to emigrate, probably appeared to them a *little* too sanguine and overdrawn!) Hence there must have been on the part of Germany, an object in view to which the English had no objection; that this had anything to do with the removal of Austrian and French influence, as French Catholic papers would have us believe, is a notion which depends on the false supposition of an English origin of the plan of the see of St. James, and is therefore untrue. If others, again, saw a diversion against the Pope in setting up a future rival, for the sake of revenging the grand downfall in the affair of Cologne, and that the united western church was at length to be transferred from the rock of St. Peter to that of St. James, they attribute to agencies at work a ridiculously childish view of the past—a view which will give to the occupant of St. Peter's chair (who knows, moreover, too well the sentiments of the man whom tragic destiny has made his official adversary) no concern for centuries to come. On what, then, is the whole gravitation of this grand event to fall, except upon the Protestant church? This idea must force itself upon every unprejudiced mind, though not belonging to the circle of the initiated, who have, for the most part, gained the ecclesiastical spurs of knighthood in the capital, and who, long ago, in various publications have hinted, made ready for, and announced the new ecclesiastical birth which was to spring out of the head of Northern Germany. While the popular religious publications were full of rejoicings, as they revelled in apocalyptical hope, the more cautious shook their heads at the unexpected alliance with Anglicanism; and even "Hengstenberg's Church Magazine" hailed the foundation in Jerusalem with certain clauses expressive of shame, and some prudent concealments.* The primate of England, victorious in the whole matter, comes forward with his plain, prosaic, official publication, and makes† the mysterious prodigy stand forth in its true character, "*quasi re bene gesta.*" Verily, he has managed the thing well; he has accepted what was offered, and glories in the gain, and the prospect of more. The whole exhibition at Jerusalem is thus to subserve the purpose of introducing to each other and fraternizing the Anglican church and the Protestants of the Continent, with the reasonable hope "that under the Divine blessing, it may lead the way to an essential unity of discipline, as well as doctrine, between our own church and the *less perfectly* constituted of the Protestant churches of Europe," as his Grace of Canterbury says. That the archbishop is warranted to entertain these hopes from the official offers of Prussia—that he has here exposed the soul and essence of the Anglo-Prussian contract

* Had the writers really no knowledge of the commission respecting the articles?

† There is an allusion here to Goethe's Faust, where Mephistopheles, first concealed in a poodle dog, gradually enlarges to an enormous size, and thus makes his appearance through the fog.

about the bishopric of Jerusalem—and that, consequently, in the proposals of Prussia, the east and the mission were merely connecting points for carrying out the special projects relating to her own church, is manifest from the semi-official newspaper apologies. To be sure, the first article of the "Prussian States Gazette" hastened to hush matters up by observing that these remarks of the archbishop were really of no importance; that he had merely given his own view of the matter, just as a member of a Protestant consistory might say that the English church was less perfectly organized than his own, while in another article in the Allgemeine Zeitung, an advocate of the union thinks he may assure us that the statement was simply intended to quiet the Puseyites, and had no reference to us Germans. But "*qui s'excuse s'accuse.*" Is it allowed to the Archbishop to deceive the Puseyites officially? or are we semi-officially deceived? But why all this secrecy where a man feels that it is his calling to reform the church, or, in the feeling of those concerned, to build it anew? It is, surely, not intended to confer the ecclesiastical character on the Protestant Continent by means of an apostolical episcopate as stealthily as the Roman-catholic missionary to the Hervey Islands conferred baptism on the sick heathen children, who first used a smelling bottle in order to mislead, and then suddenly used the baptismal phial? The article in the Gazette referred to is plainly the smelling bottle; such a thing is presented to us by our old friend of "X." and "V.," in the articles of the Allgemeine Zeitung, (Nos. 35 and 36,) about the journey of the king. He shews a knowledge so intimate of persons and things, that one might be tempted to believe his assertion, that there was nothing to be afraid of, as coming from one who speaks with all authority and knowledge of the subject. But scarcely has one received the comfort he offers—the smelling-bottle—when the baptismal phial is ready; and in the Byzantine style of modern Chamberlain theology, he makes "the Prussian monarch the personal representative of the aim of the Protestant church in her endeavour after the unity of Protestant confessions," and particularly of the endeavour after a union with the Anglican church, whereby "the churches and nations related to the Reformation might obtain the true form of churches in which those doctrines would be cherished which prevailed in the time of the apostles and their immediate successors, and would become available as a power of regeneration and sanctification."

Well roared, lion! That means, translated from its Byzantine dialect, "The Protestants, in order to be a church, must have bishops of apostolical succession, and these can only be obtained from England. The union of Protestant confessions is only to be procured by subjection to a local church which, at the present moment, repudiates the title of Protestant; and accordingly matters are so managed that, after the well-known act of Parliament of 5th October, 1841, with the co-operation of O'Connell and Co.,

had opened the sluices for the imponderable fluid of episcopal ordination to go into other lands, a portion of it should flow over Prussian court divines, so that what the Reformation had spoiled may be restored, the church which had been lost for three hundred years may be conjured back again.

"It is of great importance," says the Semeur, 42, No. 2, "for everybody, to have a public explanation and a clear understanding respecting the true bearing of measures about to be taken. It is for the King of Prussia to consider whether he has acted with a full knowledge of the subject, or under the influence of the Anglicanism which is charged upon the respectable M. de Bunsen, the negotiator of this affair of the episcopacy; and if it should appear that the king has been actuated by a reflected sympathy with the established church of England, it is then for the Prussian church to consider whether it consents to follow its political chief in this course, and whether it is prepared to receive Anglican episcopal ordination, which will infallibly be offered soon, if not imposed."

This is not the first time that Anglicanism has threatened the German Protestant church, nor is it the first time that Prussia has sent for it over. In the year 1539 appeared a pamphlet with the names of Luther and Melancthon, "datum in Germania mense mart," &c., which retracted some former statements, and, among other propositions, maintained the following:—"In the first place, we confess that the church should have that constitution and government which include bishops, who shall examine and ordain its ministers, and preside over the exercise of its rites." The performance was a specimen of English reformation-theology, shortly before the parliament which issued the six articles against the Protestants. It was refuted by Luther and Melancthon at the instance of the Elector, and it met with no response in Germany. But it was not without reason that Seckendorf considered it had some share in producing that edict of Henry directed against the Reformation. He says, "By this fraudulent device, without doubt, sycophants brought the king to acquiesce in that edict the more readily by his believing that the Protestants themselves vacillated." How, if this same fraud should turn out to be one of the historical pillars on which the maintenance of apostolical episcopacy in England rests? Walsh in his "Modern History of Religion," vol. ii. p. 191, 1792, gives a copious and authentic account of the negotiations which Prussia entered into with the English hierarchy about a century and a half ago, in order to share in apostolicity. The newly assumed title of king seemed to require bishops also, in order that the holy unction might be decently administered on the day of coronation.

One of the *extempore* bishops (Ursinus) was commissioned to arrange with the English archbishops, that by their aid a genuine hierarchy might be constituted in Prussia, and thus a union of the churches be brought about. The English liturgy, already translated into German, was to be used in the cathedral, and thus open

the way for this business. The apostolical exclusiveness of the Archbishop of Canterbury was the rock on which this first plan was wrecked. A new attempt, however, was soon made, and Jablonski applied to the Archbishop of York, who was more propitious. It is amusing to see with what a distant feeling of superiority on the part of the apostolical personage, and with what cringing humility on the part of Jablonski, as a court bishop, the matter is discussed. How many parallels of a genuine kind might be drawn between that period and this, besides the fact that Hanover was at that time also reckoned upon. In his first letter of Oct. 14, 1710, Ebot says—"I bless God with my whole heart, for having raised up among you a prince who is so much devoted to religion and to the glory of God. I offer my sincerest vows that it may please Providence to crown his efforts with every success, and to preserve his life, in order that he may see the happy result of his glorious designs for the union of Protestants, who are so much divided among you; and for the establishment of a public worship, which shall be more conformable to that of the primitive church—more pure, more decent, and more adapted to promote the glory of God, as well as the edification of those faithful souls who cannot be separated from it." Whereupon, Jablonski gives certain political counsels as to what must be done by England, in order that this may take place in Holland also, especially against those "*qui forte a monarchiis et hierarchiis principiis sunt alieniores*," and intimates that the king would send three theologians to Oxford, "*in spem ecclesiæ Prussicæ*." "By such a bond of union," says he, "our minds will no doubt be more closely united, and the veneration for your hierarchy will be more widely extended among those on this side the channel." And then Von Printz, the president of the consistory, proposes to the English ambassador, that, "In order to inspire all the reformed churches with a deep estimation for the Anglican church, for the sake of facilitating in this country the execution of the project," the surest and most effectual means would be an intervention for the reformed churches of Silesia; but because in other things he did not speak so submissively as the court bishop, Jablonski hastened to set matters right, and to excuse the president as a *novice* in the business, adding certain politic counsels—"That it was now fit that human prudence should, in some degree, assist the birth (*obstetricari*) of Divine wisdom;" and, filled with admiration of the Divine wisdom and goodness which directs all things to a happy issue, "he was led to admire the wisdom and goodness of Divine providence towards us, which had so beyond expectation disposed matters, as to render that which otherwise seemed impossible not only possible but probable, by favourably inclining the minds of those persons who had the greatest power in this affair, by removing, in a great degree, the obstacles which had hitherto been in the way, and by means which would scarcely be wished, much less hoped for."

At this time the Prussian ambassador in London was negotiating

with the secretary of state on the subject; and the episcopalians of Berlin were endeavouring also to promote the object in Holland and Hanover; but it did not go on so rapidly as they wished, and, even in Berlin, opposition was raised. "We have a little too many Genevois at Berlin, (writes Leibnitz;) however, as the king himself, Mons. the Bishop Ursinus, and Mons. Jablonski, are very much inclined towards the English church, I hope we shall obtain some fruit for it, notwithstanding the opposition which certain rigorists raise against it." The peace of Utrecht put a stop to these machinations; and the death of the chief persons concerned in it delayed the project, till in our own time it has again emerged. Among many circumstances in the present negotiations about unity alarmingly corresponding to the past, there is one which is cheering—viz., that now-a-days not a single divine has chosen to be directly concerned in them. Secret sympathies may exist, and indirect support may be given in the ambiguous articles of journals, but hitherto no German divine has incurred the odium of taking a positive and open part in the transactions of episcopacy, not even the old friends of Pusey. An individual, indeed, has often been seen travelling to and fro between Berlin and London, who was believed to be a chaplain to the Prussian embassy; but either this was a mistake, or he was ashamed of his clerical character, and dropped it, and figured in the list of followers as "attaché to the embassy." It may be safely concluded that Sydow, who pleaded the cause of evangelical liberty before the king, and firmly maintained it, has nothing to do with the affair; and as to Gerlach, he must undertake more than Augustinian retractations in order to countenance the plan. It could not in the nature of things occur to a German divine that Protestant maladies could be cured by Anglican plasters; or that a unity of Protestantism was to be brought in upon the phantom of an apostolical episcopate. What church, we would ask, is it, with which we are to be brought into connexion by these arts of diplomacy, "that it may give us strength by its own apostolical vitality"? The mantle of Christian charity has long enough been thrown over Anglicanism, and it is now high time, and our bounden duty, to unveil it, when it approaches us in so rude and arrogant a manner as it does in the archbishop's announcement. What manner of spirit it is of appears in all its history; and Anglicanism as it now exists is plainly a chip of the old block. Compared with the noble achievement of faith presented by the German Reformation, how tarnished with meanness is the English, constituting, as it does, one of the most blotted pages of the sufficiently dark history of that country.

The reformation of the Continent was essentially founded in the recovery of spiritual religion in the recesses of the inner man. It was the result of that contest, in which the *subjective* principle, roused by the necessities of the times, refuted the *objective*—heartless and estranged from God as the latter shewed itself—in a hierarchy which had sold itself to the world, and entirely renounced

its more exalted purpose. This refutation, like every real progress in truth made by the human mind, was accomplished, step by step, amidst the severest struggles of the subjective spirit with itself: it was not till after unspeakable internal conflicts, and the most agonizing efforts, that that spirit could disencumber itself of what was merely outward, and succeed in mastering and making sure of its higher functions. The new church of the Continent, therefore, was peculiarly the daughter of prayer and tears, of sighs and supplications to the Lord; she was not *made with hands, she grew* as a work of the Holy Spirit's grace. And hence, after this inward conviction had been won, arose that deep satisfaction—that entire yielding of the spirit to the new-found, only mode of salvation, justifying faith; hence that heroism which cheerfully ventures everything after the supreme good—that perfect contempt of worldly views, and the rejection of everything that comes not of the Spirit. How utterly different from all this was the course of the Reformation in England. It began with the schism of Henry VIII. Even in England, the real necessities of the spirit of religion had been roused in some individuals. The voice of Wycliffe is heard to mingle responsively with that of Luther. But the general revolution did not turn on such pivots as these. Without any real sympathy or connexion whatever with continental movements in the case of the English Reformation, a sensual despot drags the hierarchical institution by the hair of her head to the place of execution, strikes off the head, and places his own likeness on the variously mutilated trunk. The timid looked on in silence, while the unbounded selfishness, the want of all high principle among the higher classes in church and state, were ready to smile upon this distributor of earthly good, in his barbarous and bloody work. He found among both classes hands ready for the dirtiest occupation.

In this way there soon arose an Anglican national church, unchanged in its doctrinal and hierarchical essence; the handiwork of its despotic head, forced to take whatever form his caprice and private fancy dictated, warped to the service of the world in its first and leading shoots; and thus for all its future history—yes, *for all its future history!*—for, in the further development of the Reformation in England, political and other worldly interests constantly maintained the same ascendancy over spiritual and religious interests which they obtained in the first impulse of the commotion. England's scarlet thread ran through all the ramifications of its state-church policy. Under Edward VI., indeed, the cause of the gospel in England seemed to take a more favourable turn. The purer elements, which were secretly cherished among the people, were allowed to come to light; Protestant teachers were called over from the Continent. Cranmer, who had a true relish for the gospel, was at the head of a movement, which, in the midst of the turmoil of politico-religious parties, and much confusion of thought and feeling, was gradually making its way towards a purer doctrine; but the purer faith was still so entrammeled, was still so far re-

moved from the mass of persons, religion was so much a matter of obedience to orders, and so little of vital, all-penetrating principle, that it could not succeed in mastering the rough *externality* of the hereditary notions of the church; and its influence was neutralized by the leaven of ambitious and covetous pharisees, both of the clergy and laity, who crowded around the King and the Protectors Somerset and Warwick, and who had nothing so little at heart as the fundamental improvement of the church. Let us hear what cotemporaries say about the circumstances of Protestantism, in reference to the prevailing elements of that highly-lauded period. "We have certainly," writes Peter Martyr to Bullinger, from Oxford,* "many things to contend with, especially an abundance of adversaries and a paucity of preachers, and of those who profess evangelical principles, gross vices, together with the worldly prudence of some who allow that religion needs to be purified, but who are anxious to make as little innovation as possible, because, with heart and mind devoted to the state, they think any great agitations would be dangerous to the commonwealth. But you are well aware, that when innumerable corruptions, vast abuses, and unbounded superstition have grown up in the church of Christ, a true reformation cannot possibly take place, unless what is depraved be brought back to its genuine source, to its pure fountains and uncontaminated principles. Satan makes his attack upon the saints with great subtilty. He wishes, under this pretext, to leave as many remains of Popery as possible, partly that men may not readily forget it, and partly that the return to it may be the more easy." Martin Bucer, also, in a letter to Calvin, written from Cambridge,† complains—"The cause of Christ here also is so dealt with, that unless the Lord regard with special favour the most innocent and religious King, and some other pious men, it is greatly to be feared that the dreadful anger of God will shortly burn against this kingdom. There is hitherto no agreement among the bishops on the subject of Christian doctrine, much less of the discipline of the church; very few parishes have competent pastors, and many are sold to the nobles. There are also some of the clergy, and even of those who wish to be considered evangelical, who hold three, four, and even more parishes, while they do not officiate in one of them, but procure, as their substitutes, persons who will serve at the lowest rate, and who often cannot even read English, and are in their hearts rank Papists. The nobles, also, of the kingdom, have appointed over many parishes those who have been in convents, that they may thus be freed from the obligation of paying their pension, who are exceedingly ignorant, and unfit for the sacred office. Hence you will find some parishes in which there has been no preaching for years. What good is to be done

* January, 1550. Vide Burnet, vol. iii. p. 200.

† Die Pentecostes, in the Collection entitled, Calvini Epistolæ et Responsa, Amstelod," 1667, p. 5.

by mere edicts, and the removal of the instruments of superstition, you are well aware."

Then follow complaints about the state of the University. Most of Bucer's colleagues are "either the most bitter Papists or dissolute Epicureans, who draw over as many of the young men as they can to their own pursuits, and instil into them an abhorrence of sound Christian doctrine and discipline. But when," says he, "complaints are made by pious people to the nobles about this dreadful depravity of the churches, they tell you it is the province of the bishops to cure such evils as these; and if they are made to bishops, who once professed to be evangelical, they tell you there is no remedy for these things except by an act of Parliament. But while these great councils of the kingdom are held every year, so many secular causes come before them, that the cause of Christ is excluded. Then the consideration of these subjects is committed to men so numerous and so discordant in their views, that they cannot be got together in a body to consider the subject, still less come to any right and sound conclusion about things of so great importance. This procrastination respecting Christ's cause is kept up, not only by bishops, who have more love of ease and more antichristian arrogance than attachment to the cross, but by many of the nobles, who are enriched by church property, and who consider the present spoliation of the churches more to their interest than a pious reformation of them."

Consuming sorrow over the "*horrenda ecclesiarum deformitas*," which the nobles and the priesthood in England vied in keeping up, at length broke the German heart of Bucer! And this was Bucer, the most pliable nature of all the continental divines of that time—Bucer, the labour of whose life had been devoted to conciliation and peace-making. Such an issue of his labours, the ill-will which pursued him and those who had come with him, even from those of his own party in England, sufficiently declare that the church of the Continent was at that time also an alien in England. It was not till after severe discipline in the school of affliction, that the Protestant principle took any deeper root in England. All those who, under former sovereigns, had merely yielded to force, who had been enticed by honour and ambition, who had given themselves up to courtly obedience, and the service of the world,—all these, constituting the majority of the nobles and the prelates, threw off the mask under the cruel government of Mary. Nothing was, in fact, then to be gained, except what Cranmer and his fellow-martyrs gained. He paid the penalty for the fault of having yielded up the Reformation to cruel and despotic demands, by a violent death. But among the quiet circles of stedfast adherents to be found among the people, and the host of learned men who became refugees in the towns of Upper Germany and Switzerland, the germ of England's true reformation was forming. But the re-action of Popery, which, in fact, was not unauthorized, considering what had transpired before, was but of short

duration. The sun of Elizabeth soon arose, and as soon was this surrounded by the majority of that party who had been basking in the rays of one which had just gone down. It would not have been advisable for Elizabeth, whose throne was so variously threatened, to send away the claimants who thronged around her unsatisfied. Indeed the Pope and the ancient faith were given up at discretion there. To persons so disposed, the zeal to which Rome at this time had girded herself up was felt to be troublesome, and faith, moreover, had always been a secondary matter with them. But the riches, power, rank, and splendour which these worthies had enjoyed amidst the vicissitudes of three reigns, they were resolved still to adhere to; and any attempt at depriving them, on the part of Elizabeth, would have been followed by their relapse into popery. But Elizabeth had no such inclinations as came into collision with these claims, nor with state-prudence. In the daughter of Henry, all the qualities of the Tudor line were revived, and even the unbounded self-will of her father, which regarded the church as a thing of human creation, to be prepared and adjusted as the omnipotence of the throne may require, like a spiritual court-and-state robe, which is cut and decorated to the taste, till capricious vanity is satisfied. Thus at an early period of the English church it was established under the exclusive influence of the old pharisaical leaven which encompassed the queen, respecting which a cotemporary says:* "Who, because they perceive that popery cannot honestly be defended, nor entirely retained, have resorted to the device of constructing a mingled and ambiguous form of religion, and obtruding this upon the church under colour of Protestant reformation, from which in future time the passage to the papal superstition and idolatry may be most easy." This constitution of the English church was fixed in essential matters almost before the fugitives had had time to return home from the Continent; and here they found themselves "foreigners in their own home," and "strangers in their own country." Jewell distinctly describes the position in which he and his friends found themselves in reference to the prevailing elements thus: "These *aposcopi* are a great hindrance to us, who being, as you know, in the upper house, among the great men and nobles, without any of our number among them to refute their falsehoods by speeches, have their own way among unlearned and unskilful men, and easily overcome our *paterculi*, whether in numbers or at a point of doctrine. The queen, in the mean time, though she openly favours our cause, is strangely prevented, partly by her own counsellors, and partly by Count Ferio, a Spaniard, the Ambassador of Philip, from allowing any alterations to be made."

By and by—but not till after the queen and the priesthood, by mutual agreement, had established the state-church in essentials, and had sold it to the world anew, these men came forth from

* See Burnet, p. 265.

their retirement. Some, in their hatred to the new hierarchy, disclaimed all connexion with it; others, with more moderation, tolerated much superstition and worldly folly; this they did, not without internal conflict, but it enabled them to preserve for their country the supreme good—the pure doctrine, under the hierarchical net which was thrown over it, and England has reason to bless God to this day for the self-devotedness of these men. Full of a peculiar irony which they freely exercised upon the *nimbus* of prelacy which enveloped them, disliked by the nonconformists, suspected by the enemies of the nonconformists, such men as John Jewell, Edwin Sand, Edmund Grindal, preserved in the midst of the state-church the protestant element of the Continent, opposed, at their own hazard, all kinds of hierarchical mischief, and formed, not unfrequently, a friendly bulwark against the persecutions to which their rigid brethren were exposed who pertinaciously refused the royal uniformity. They were the true servants of the gospel, without the mitre, while the majority of their colleagues believed themselves to be so *by virtue of it.* It was at this time that the distinction arose between evangelicals and high-church men.

We will here introduce some lines of a sketch which an inquirer of deep research has drawn of this much lauded period.*

"Everything (says Huber) was determined by political, secular, and personal interests and intrigues. The dominant church was penetrated and swayed by these elements, to a degree to which no other church beside, except the catholic, has ever been. Especially in the appointment to benefices, the most grovelling views of worldly patrons and their families prevailed to such an extent, that this state of things alone would have been sufficient to bring on the condition of the mass of the clergy, lamentable as it became as to morals and religion as well as learning. And so much the more, as those members of the catholic church who were most distinguished for ability and worth, were precisely those who sacrificed their benefices to their convictions, and were removed from their congregations; while, on the other hand, those members of the protestant church who were best qualified for the spiritual calling, were driven by the worldliness of the dominant church, into that separation which excluded them from her service." The cause of the decided aversion of Elizabeth from the protestant element of the continent, as it was exhibited by the puritans—"apart from individual and passing influences—assuredly lay in an antithetical maxim, deeply and essentially political, which is best and most briefly expressed in the well known phrase, *No Bishop—no King.* The monarchical principle in its essential and most worthy, as well as in its non-essential and most unworthy elements, involves the conditions of a natural confederacy with those principles, interests, customs, and peculiarities, which in later times

* Huber, die Englischen Universitäten, &c. Cassel, 1839. Vol. 2, p. 69.

were distinguished as *high-church*, and a natural idiosyncrasy against the opposite religious development.

"The superior worldly training, the dexterity, the fitness and accomplishment for the most subtle as well as the lowest flattery, possessed by men of the prelatic school, which the critical and stormy time of Henry VIII. produced, and which had managed to occupy the avenues to court favour, not only under Edward VI., but also under Mary—all this was just as agreeable to the female vanity of Elizabeth, as the unlimited power which this church especially conceded to the crown, first over the church, and then over the state, was in accordance with her monarchical instincts and interests. On the other hand, the democratical principles of the puritans (however they may have been intended to apply immediately to the church alone), were no less offensive to her as a queen, than their rougher, more severe, more solemn bearing, was opposed to her character as a woman."

The Anglican church was virtually complete in the reign of Elizabeth. Has that church, then, since that time ever disowned such an origin and character? Has she changed her courtly political life into a spiritual life? Has she made a way for a closer connexion with those who possess the pure evangelical principle? Has she ceased to vex and persecute them? Never! The church of England continued under the Stuarts, what she had become under the Tudors: a submissive slave to the higher ranks, a tyrant to the lower. Her relation to the king and the court, as resulting from the entire development above stated, her entanglement with the aristocracy, admitted of nothing else. Never in the history of Christianity was idolatrous homage paid to a creature in a more extravagant and shameless manner than by the church of England to James I. "Let no one say that this was the folly or want of principle of some individuals merely. No! it was the language of the church herself, and if it did not convey her sentiments and convictions, so much the worse. *This kind* of loyalty was not *in so many words* preached up as necessary to salvation; but a language and bearing different from this, such as would have given more room for the honesty of a free man and a Christian, and for the claims of truth, would at any rate have been regarded and treated as highly offensive and suspicious. But to whatever extent a man might give himself up to self-deception, it is out of the question that such assertions as these should agree with his convictions in most cases, and the poison of hypocritical flattery, and the curse inseparable from it, penetrated *the whole life of the church*."*

To this was added another circumstance. Incapable of raising herself to a more exalted kind of worth and title to respect as compared with the different sects, than that which her connexion with the crown conferred, she found herself compelled to conceal

* Huber, p. 124.

her empirical humiliation under the shewy deception of fine theories. Hence the ready reception among the prelacy of the doctrine of the divine right of kings, which James I. enforced upon his people in its rudest form; hence the doctrine of the *episcopacy with apostolical succession*. This subject, to be sure, was not new in England. Men like Cranmer and Parker, who must be allowed to have been sincerely attached to the gospel, received it on conviction. They were the counterpart of that Italian semi-protestantism, whose noblest representative we recognise in a Contarini. He took almost the ground which Luther occupied on the article of scripture and justification, but his mind was too deeply imbued with a regard for the unity of the church and a reverence for the Pope to admit of a separation.* As that feeling of habitual reverence allowed of infinite gradations, it attached itself, in the case of these men, to the episcopacy and apostolical succession which they sustained. But that which had hitherto been only a matter of opinion, and which the framers of the Thirty-nine Articles had not ventured to express, was now an article of faith. In accordance with this passion for driving monarchical principles to their theoretical extreme, the church at the present time throws herself upon episcopacy; and the consciousness of internal weakness and want of truth has called forth that rush of reaction which has formally and systematically developed this theory, and carried it to the most fantastical excess. They see they have at length found the *palladium*. The church which exists under episcopacy, and has grown up with it all along, is now, in their idea, consecrated as such. The strong contrast so often and so powerfully urged by opponents between the original and the empirical appearance is given up. The difference between the visible and the invisible church has no longer any meaning. Episcopacy realizes both in the concrete. Appointment, apostolical succession, and consecration, make the bishops true members of the church; and consequently secure to every prelate, every clergyman, yea, every layman, who is perfectly obedient to the authority of the episcopate, equal, real, and unrestricted membership. The anointing of the Spirit, the consecration of the heart, is now superseded by the consecration of the hand. The *hand* makes the church; from beginning to end the hand is used: the church needs nothing more, it is *made* with hands. Who does not see that thus the essence of Protestantism is given up by that church which has given up the Protestant doctrine? The Anglican church, having once adopted this principle, has followed out its true consequences. Communion with Christ is enjoyed through the medium of the apostles; communion with the apostles through their successors; the succession is where the episcopacy is, and where the episcopacy the *true catholic church*. Hence Anglo-catholicism has been urged with ever increasing self-importance since the time of James, and has

* Ranke's Popes of Rome, vol. i., page 164, of the English translation.

always found its genuine membership in those classes only on which the Protestantism of the Continent and Puritanism at home have decidedly turned their back. Political and ecclesiastical pride have indeed refused to acknowledge the pope as lord and father, but they have freely held out to him the hand as a brother, and have conceded to him the honour due to an elder brother. Hence that coquetting with popery, which marks the entire period of the Stuarts, was not the result of outward motives simply, it was the genuine result of the inherent principle. Hence, that *compelle intrare* which was exercised upon the puritans of England and Scotland—that rude and overbearing zeal for union with which the sons of Knox were forced under the bishop's mitre—that shameful surrender of the interests of Protestantism in France and Germany at the commencement of the thirty years' war, were anything but accidental circumstances; they were the result of that succession in which churchmen so much prided themselves, and to which they adhered in its fullest sense. Hence, also, the remarkable fact, that the Anglican church has never lifted up herself to a free and unbiassed treatment of Christian doctrine; nay, she has not even attained so far as to give expression to her own views and spirit in any system equal to the claims of science, but has at all times preferred to confine her investigations to dry patristic antiquarian studies. Hence the perpetual recurrence of Catholic Arminian tendencies, whenever individuals in her bosom had spirit enough to rise above their learned materials. Under the Long Parliament, the seemingly well-compacted structure which covered the process of dissolution going on below was broken through; throne and altar were swallowed up in the ferment of those elements, which blind infatuation imagined were gone for ever. Charles I. paid the penalty of the sins of political Anglicanism, and Laud those of ecclesiastical Anglicanism, with their blood; both so far innocent, that they were not the authors of what they bled for, but were merely the distinct expressions of a principle which had been allowed for a century to unite itself with all the feelings of the worst selfishness of privileged classes; but both guilty, in as far as each for his own part contributed to increase a wide-spread, universal evil, and thus had his own share of it to answer for. The overthrow of the English national church excited no pity in Europe. The Continent had become well acquainted with her; and even though the Puritans were not approved in their extravagances, everybody knew where the guilt really lay.

After the fanatical effervescence of the republican period had subsided into the lassitude which was sure to follow, the natural tenacity of the English constitution in reconstructing itself, brought about also the restoration of the state church. But the curse of incorrigibleness which rests upon every hierarchy was realized in her case. Unmindful of the severe chastisement she had received, she brought back with her to the new scene of action

her ancient nature, her original vice unmitigated. Shameless alliances with popery, unconcealed as long as popery courted her; contempt and persecution of the dissenters; hypocritical advances towards them in times of difficulty, but the rejection of all *comprehension* as it was called—these were her proceedings under the last of the Stuarts. Since the time of William Prince of Orange, indeed, some limit has been put to persecution; but it was only after the most obstinate resistance that those concessions which a Christian feeling would willingly and freely make at any time, were wrung from the high church, and still the wounded pride of the *non-jurors* for a long time imperfectly concealed its bitterness behind the veil of passive obedience. And what has been their conduct during the long period of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to the present time? Let us see! We are well aware of the existence of those men of the low church, the proudly despised *evangelical party*, the descendants of those who were *hospites in patriâ*, and *peregrini domi suæ:* we know also, that not only under the threadbare coat of many a vicar and curate, but also under many a bishop's robe, a Christian heart has beaten, a heart full of compassion for the spiritual and temporal sufferings of the people, full of active obedience to the royal law of love, a mind full of humility and self-devotedness; who have been ashamed when the hierarchy has acted the buffoon and executioner, but who have never been ashamed of the Gospel of Christ. We know that such a party has always been preserved by God's help, even in the most troublous times, as salt in the besotted mass. But to *you*, anointed *lords* and consecrated *gentlemen* of the high church, who boast of a *character indelebilis*, who cherish the apostolical succession,—to you who, by the mouth of William Howley and Charles James Blomfield, have dared to address us in language so impertinent, to you we would fain direct the earnest question: Have *you* ever been the men to contend with the sword of the word of God and the shield of faith? to put on the armour of Christ, and come boldly forward against the hydra of infidelity and immorality? No! *You* were forsooth consecrated, and you consecrated all those who received from your hand the *ruddle mark*, but have *you* preached the gospel to the poor in the streets and ships, in the markets and in the dens of sorrow? No! The man in beggar's garb sought a place in your churches, and lo! there was no place for him there! Have *you*, in the Lord's name, fed the hungry, given drink to the thirsty, clothed the naked, comforted the wretched? Have you prayed and wept with them? No! *You* are chaplains only at the sumptuous tables of the great; *you* have disdained all intercourse with unsightly wretchedness, except to tythe its potatoes! Have *you* sought that which was lost, raised up the broken reed, and brought back the wanderer to repentance? No! *You* have exacted your tythes to the very anise and cummin of the poor; and, Jehu like, have brandished your bloody scourge over the famished bodies of the Irish people. Have *you* kindled a

light in schools and colleges for the people?—No! *You* have allowed the colleges to decline, and have grudged even the most limited instruction to the child of the artizan. Have *you* emancipated the swarthy slaves, the sons of Ham?—No! Your apostolical successors—behold! they rise up in resistance to the measure as one man! Nor could you forget the sentence, "cursed be Canaan, and let him be a servant of servants among his brethren." Have *you* gone out to preach the gospel to every creature, and to carry the glad tidings to the heathen? The great instruments in the Lord's hand, Eliot, Brainerd, Schwartz, Marshman, Carey, Vanderkemp, Rhenius, Gutzlaff, Gobat, did they belong to you?—No! The men who were enabled in the strength of the Lord to do such things were presbyterians and baptists, were the sons of Penn and Wesley, whom your pride and worldly-mindedness drove from the midst of you—they were the sons of Germany and Switzerland, whose pious zeal you assisted with your mammon only, in order to encroach, with rude and clumsy hand, upon the fruits of their toil when the opportunity arrived. But say! where shall we find the fruit of your labours, the flock which your care has gathered? Its voice is heard in that cry of neglected wretchedness with which Europe resounds,—More bread and fewer bishops, more pigs and fewer parsons! And are *you* for setting up to be our masters, and are we to obtain from *you* the rules for our "*less regulated churches?*" Are *you* to be the pattern and the type for *us? You*, I ask? what, *you?* Oh, I entreat you, let that confused vision of your infatuated pride vanish—go and repent of your sins, and the sins of your forefathers; turn your thoughts within and learn humility! Yes, *to be humble*, and *learn by experience*, is what alone becomes *you*—this is the inexorable sentence of history. It shews us a church which, for the space of 300 years, has been dead to Christ, and living only for the service of the world, for pomp and show, for honour and power, for gold and possession. Even that mighty fermentation which in our times has disturbed the tenacious mud of a century of stagnation, the new Oxford theology of Pusey and Newman, is nothing else than the old venom which remained from the Tudor Reformation; only now, instead of being diffused amidst the whole mass, it is collected in a more concentrated form upon a single point, and has therefore become more pungent and narcotic. All the great commotions of the last century passed off without leaving any trace of their effect upon the Anglican church. After William III., by the Toleration Act, wrested the offensive weapons from her hand, she used her defensive weapons which remained to her with good fortune and effect, when, in 1829, the threatening flood which had been swelling since 1780 burst its banks. The catholic emancipation was a dreadful blow to the ancient Anglicanism, but it was only the beginning of its sorrows; as though her fatality lay in the Williams, almost every act of legislation under William IV. inflicted a deep wound on the state-church. Since the passing of the Reform Bill, in 1832, the sup-

pression of ten bishoprics in Ireland, the new tithe laws for England and Ireland, the proposed law of church-rates, and the Marriage Act, followed each other in rapid succession. In this way the state-church was smitten in her very vitals—*i. e.*, in her temporalities. And observe! this—this it was which brought new life into her torpid frame; she saw in her opponent nothing less than Protestantism, which would fain now fulfil its interrupted mission into England. Hence, as her troubles increased, that angry front which the Oxford party have drawn up against Protestantism; hence those invectives against it, in the old and well-known accents of Rome, Ingolstadt, and Cologne; hence that rejection of all and every communion with it, even to its very name; hence that entrenchment behind Anglo-Catholicism, the succession and episcopacy. As in ancient days, so now in this case an attempt is made to shelter worthlessness behind strong bulwarks. In what other way could the pressure of a nation furiously agitated be resisted? Those theories of Pusey, Newman, Gladstone, are like the poisonous sweat of anguish which some animals throw out in their extremity. But the extremity was greater, the danger more threatening, and the hatred of Protestantism more fierce than ever. Hence the Oxford principles could not retain their ancient abstract rigidity; the fire of trial fused them. All those shackles of respectful restraint which hitherto had prevented their development gave way, and thus, overborne by the expansive force of their nature, they advance with rapidly accelerated progress, and in a year or two they appear before the astonished world, openly avowed in "Tracts for the Times," *Canones:—Decreta Concilii Tridentini.*

With the succession of bishops the succession of councils was inseparably connected. The trunk of the Anglo-Catholic church, which had been lopped by the axe of Henry, and pruned by the knife of Edward and Elizabeth, shot forth afresh in all the extremities which these instruments had touched, for the inner sap was of the same nature as before, and the true spring had now arrived. Fasts and every kind of will-worship—methods of salvation—self-righteous merits, gaily put forth their verdure upon the old trunk. Then tradition, auricular confession, the sacrifice of the Lord's Supper, *fides caritate formata*, and ere long we shall find that the amiable queen will be removed from its top as a *caput adulterinum*, and it will be surmounted by the true Roman head in ancient and natural union.

Already the young Anglo-Catholic gentry are gaily in motion, exhibiting all the forms of Romish extravagance. Young Oxford exclaims, "I utterly reject and anathematize the principle of Protestantism as a heresy, with *all* its forms, sects, or denominations. And if the church of England should ever profess herself to be a form of Protestantism (which may God of his infinite mercy forbid), then I would reject and anathematize the church of England, and would separate myself from her immediately, as from a human sect, without giving Protestants any unnecessary trouble to pro-

cure my expulsion. In conclusion, I once more publicly profess myself a Catholic, and a member of the Catholic church, and say anathema to the principle of Protestantism (which I regard as identical with the principle of dissent), and to all its forms, sects, and denominations, especially to those of the Lutherans and Calvinists, and British and American dissenters; likewise to all persons, who knowingly, and willingly, and understanding what they do, shall assert, either for themselves or for the church of England, the principle of Protestantism, or maintain the church of England to have one and the same common religion with any or all of the various sects of Protestantism, or shall communicate themselves in the temples of the Protestant sects, or give the communion to their members, or go about to establish any intercommunion between our church and them, otherwise than by bringing them, in the first place, to renounce their errors and promise a true obedience for the future to the entire faith and discipline of the Catholic and Apostolical episcopate,—to all such I say, Anathema!"* Well said, Master Palmer. You are a fine fellow. You know your own mind, and you speak it out. You have learned to curse, assuredly, as if you had drunk of the yellow water of the Tiber from a child. Your hand, man! You take my fancy; you are a genuine, straight-forward foe, and should you ever get us under, I can see you will have the grace to award us—not indeed a *more perfect constitution*—but assuredly, no quarter. I quite depend upon you.

But the men of "*more perfect constitution*," what do they say to this spectre, which thus insultingly dances before their eyes? Most of them say nothing at all; they are dumb-foundered; and those who do say anything, seem by their language to have learned no more than might be expected from a fox-hunter or a captain of dragoons, who was *perfectly constituted* yesterday to be a bishop to-day. What is the use of all that hurry and bustle, all the conferences and pastoral letters, all the petitions and election-intrigues —these weapons of the flesh? These more *perfectly constituted* cannot conceal their perplexity, and they have not learned to wield "*the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.*" If—as Presbyter Malchion was called in against the Samosatenians †—all the rectors and chaplains were called upon in vain to lend their aid, the Anglican theology contains no recipe for such a heresy as this. It is nothing else than the shadow which is thrown by the church herself, the lengthened shadow, which against her will extends to Rome—the grotesque projection of her own phiz,—and this twin traveller she can never escape, though she flee from the meridian of Canterbury to that of Jerusalem, Berlin, or Magdeburg.

* A letter to the Rev. C. P. Golightly, by Wm. Palmer, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of St. Mary Magdalene College, Oxford, p. 9—13.

† Vide Euseb. Hist., vii. 20.

Is it, then, with a church so circumstanced that you, promoters of the union, wish to unite German Protestantism? It is by no means necessary that you should be so careful of guarding yourselves against all suspicion of wishing to transfer to the German chicks of *succession* either the political privileges or the endowments of your English apostolicals. Nobody fears that, as being an utter impossibility. The grounds on which you depend for the establishment of your bishops, your *steel** pillars of the church, are but fallacious ones. But you would fain give us bishops, who by virtue of a peculiar power residing in themselves are to govern the church as representatives and successors of the apostles, like your ideals over the channel, who shall bring into vogue, among other things, a regular church service, instead of the long sermon which we have at present. As to our preaching, I may just remark, that it is certainly in many respects faulty, but the question is,—Would not the poorest preaching, so long as it is in general the preaching of the word of God, be more serviceable to Christianity than even the music of the church of Elizabeth in Berlin, or any other sacrificial service whatever? This matter, however, will be taken up again. Let us contemplate, now, these bishops, who are to be the sheet-anchor of our church. It may be boldly pronounced as a fact, that no Protestant Christian in Germany, except the organs of this most recent enterprise, believes in the apostolical succession of bishops, and the *jus divinum* of the episcopal dignity, for Stahl himself, the chief patron of the latter, will not hear of the former. Let the question be asked of every one of our theologians, from Hengstenberg to Röhr, whether he is not of the same opinion about this fiction. To attempt to bring this about, then, is to attempt impossibilities, for no power in the world could compel the Protestant church to submit to a superior, who should appear in a character repugnant to the deep convictions of Protestantism, and with corresponding claims. The question therefore which we have to deal with is mainly this,—Whether an episcopal constitution and government is to be substituted for the collegiate administration under the episcopacy of the sovereign? Stahl will find it difficult to make many converts to this gospel of his. But even allowing that the church would submit to such a change—in order to which, however, the caution of Eichhorn must not be neglected—viz., that the consent of the congregations must be obtained for any essential change in the constitution of the church, it would be a question for us *at home* to consider, and would in no degree be affected by the sentiments of York and Canterbury.

But the latter circumstance is just what you men of union lay so much stress upon; and who can tell whether it is not merely to please the Anglicans that you insist upon their consecration, because, for reasons of your own, you desire a union with them?

* In allusion, probably, to Stahl, an advocate of the union, mentioned below.

Who knows whether the fine phrases about the unity of Protestantism, with which you have entertained us in the journals, are to be literally understood? whether they do not mean the same thing as that unity, κατ' ἐξοχήν, recommended to us elsewhere? Certainly, by *your* unity of Protestantism, which is to be purchased by abandoning the Protestant principle, you only strengthen that one church, which, in this particular, is still more strenuous. Is that the church from which your idea is taken? We already adhere to the ἓν πνεῦμα of the Apostle; not to that of Dean Frey,* of Umstadt, in the grand duchy of Hesse, in his club-law apocalypse, which the "Studien und Kritiken" has presented to us in the 2nd Number of 1841; nor do we agree with the prophesying of Theodore Rohmer about a universal church, which is to be surmounted in hierarchical order with a visible head, though not such an one as the Pope (but why not?)—Vide Germany's Call, Winterthur, 1841, p. 213. Even the descendants of the Huguenots, it seems, have so strong a recollection of La Rochelle and the year 1628,† that they would wish to connect their certainly much divided consistorial churches with your union. To seek after the unity which you have in view, is to seek the annihilation of Protestantism. Is that what you desire? But if you have only political reasons for seeking an English alliance, have the honesty to make it a political one, and do not defile the sanctuary of God. Observe! you have already John Bull with you as a comrade in arms against the modern Ostrogoths, and that in spite of his bishops; and if they should ever be so far advanced in Protestant views and Christian humility, as to desire communion with us, we would give them the right hand of fellowship in apostolic manner (Gal. ii. 4); but we would not admit their hands upon our heads. These hands upon our heads would make them heavy; and as we have special need for our heads, we would fain keep them in serviceable order. We intend to retain our theological acquirements, and our "*Spes ecclesiæ Prussicæ*" certainly does not grow at Oxford; though there, it must be acknowledged, we should be abundantly safe from any scientific outbreaks. We desire an acquaintance with theology, with all the excesses attendant on it; *which excesses that knowledge alone can cure.* We desire an intellectual contest, and not a mere ecclesiastical parade; because it is not by being isolated, and by petrified traditionalism, but by freely referring to all the developments of the national mind, that our theology can draw from the proper elements of that, the due advantage for the adjustment of divine truth, and can thus succeed in putting down what is wrong. Woe to the hand which would dare to sever our theology from this connexion with our country! We are not disposed to be tricked out of our national acquisition, or even to have it placed in the back-ground; we are not disposed to dishonour the countenances of our reformers and their work,

* Vide note, p. 63.

† Vide Neal's History of the Puritans, ed. 2. London, vol. iii. p. 513.

and then to cover them with the mask of the Anglican church: You need not, therefore, trouble yourselves to prove that there is nothing ensnaring in the Thirty-nine Articles: we do not, in fact, find fault with them; but we do not want them—we are in possession of better of our own. Nor is it the articles that you so much care about, but that we may be *articulated*, by galvanic process, to your episcopal chain.

But allowing even that German Protestantism could unite with Anglo-Catholicism, we should be far from attaining to unity in that way. There would still remain Scandinavian Protestantism, the inheritance of Gustavus Adolphus, whose bishops will surely not go to Canterbury, and beg their legitimacy. No necessity, it is to be hoped, will arise, for our evangelical liberty to be again rescued for us in that quarter—to be preserved against the descendants of those who did all they could, through Tilly and Wallenstein, to carry us back, without resistance, to a unity the most compact. But to confine ourselves to Germany: It is certainly credible that some Protestant prince might be willing to add to the manifold disunion of the church which at present exists, the absolute anarchy which would be sure to arise from the attempt to introduce Anglican episcopacy. They tell us, indeed, that anarchy exists already, and that it would be remedied by established order; but does order require that a man should begin to build his house at the roof? Do you really believe you can employ the negative spirits of the day as wolves, to frighten the restless into your fold? Oh! everybody understands those assurances of yours, that this affair has nothing to do with orthodoxy of creed. Even those minds who are anxious about the agitations of the time, are well aware that in your plan for edifying the church you have no regard to that which the ancient evangelical spirit would fain see in public estimation, and in vigorous life. They well perceive, that, by the order of your apostolical church, all the free operations of the general Christian ministry would just come to an end, to which the regeneration of our Christian life in modern times owes so many wholesome impulses. Such persons are not to be deluded by you. But perhaps you might, *detractis detrahendis*, be able to gain over those enlightened lovers of the outward adornment of the church, whom you have so suitably instructed through Dr. Küntzel, in the Darmstadt Church Magazine. Perhaps you may inspire those ecclesiastical busy-bodies with spirit for this new and mighty project, whom you have already brought to their senses by rewarding them, for their exertions for union and liturgy, with the order of the Red Eagle But in no state of Germany is the clergy so demoralized as not to oppose your object with all their might; nor is even the population of any enlightened town so lost to evangelical reminiscences, as not to view your performance at least with suspicion, in spite of all the ecclesiastical recreations you promise them. You are promoting anarchy in the church, inasmuch as you are inciting those to opposition who, by their

evangelical principles, are its supporters; and while the mind of the people on religious subjects has been thrown already into a state of morbid uncertainty in various parts by former church experiments, you are contributing, in an important degree, to add to the confusion, and to defer still longer that true correction of the evil which can only take place through the word and spirit of God. Do you not already hear the shouts of joy which the organs of the anti-Christian party are raising at your attempts? Are these to be misunderstood? I will say nothing about the sad political consequences which might easily result from what you are doing. By the peace of Westphalia, the ancient, true episcopal power has been suspended in Germany, in the dominions of Protestant princes, as long as they retain ecclesiastical supremacy. What claims would be revived if the prince were to resign his episcopacy! I do not now refer to those changes in particular states, of which certainly you have no clear conception, which would be the result; but do you not see that these vital changes might easily call forth demands for restitution on the part of the Catholics, which would at least cause you new difficulties? How would the Catholic bishops regard their new *confratres*, especially if these present themselves with the claim of Catholic apostolical equality of origin? Bishop Alexander may be a lesson for us. Beware how you "*sow the wind.*"

And thou, poor Protestant church, in thy state of service, on whom every bungler tries his wit, art thou all at once to become lordly, and to cover thy nakedness with finery? They promise thee liberty, and much thou needest it. But thou art not to be decoyed by such a lure as this. Thou seest *in effigie*, in thine Anglican instructors, the sort of liberty thou art to enjoy. However, much thou mayest have sighed under the oppression of believer and unbeliever, under the care and the neglect of those whom thou hast honoured as thy foster-fathers and guardians, thou hast no longing after a liberty which would rend thine existence, and would rob thee of that earthly home which, by the blessing of God, thou hast enjoyed for 300 years. Thou hast a right, before God and men, to thy native princes, whom God has employed as thy *præcipua membra*, to deliver thee from the yoke of hierarchy. And if one of these would give up that government over thee—that high service of God and his fellow men, which certainly it is more easy to give up than to exercise conscientiously with evangelical meekness and self-denial; oh, then remind him of the duty he owes thee, that it is precisely he who is thy protector and the defender of thine earthly freedom; and that it is by no means at his option, as an evangelical Christian, whether he perform this service for thee, much less is it competent to him to subject thee to a foreign yoke! Endeavour to revive in him the evangelical faith of his high ancestors, which sets the entangled conscience free from the *steel* bands of sophistry, and dispels the mists of romantic phantasies and dreams. Teach him the reflections of honest Seckendorf, which, in his "Christenstaat,"

p. 267, he puts into the mouth of his evangelical prince, "I am a Christian; I believe in an eternal life—this is the object at which I aim, and this I hope in reality to obtain after death. My subjects are Christians, and have a similar aim; my duty to them is to assist them therein—first, because they are my fellow-members in Christ and before God, and my brethren whom I am bound to love, and to help forward; and, secondly, because I am invested with the government, and that of a kind which is concerned, not merely about peace and war, and outward policy, but about religion also, because I have means and authority to that end. My ancestors have, with great peril, recovered this right, and I am their rightful heir and successor. *No one is more entitled to it than myself.* I can endure it from no other with a good conscience, or merely delegate it to another. This assuredly is my bounden duty; and my heart and conscience tell me that I must not neglect this part of my duty, nor deem it unimportant, but am bound to give it my very best attention."*

But you, who, doubtless sincerely and with the best intentions are taking pains to withdraw the heart of a Protestant prince from his duty to the church, and who believe you have found a Panacea which is to heal all the wounds of Protestantism, who would fain conduct the Protestant church to a fixed stability—a becoming

* Seckendorf proceeds—"If, however, such thoughts and such assiduity are *not found* in a ruler, it is very manifest that Christianity is not far advanced in such a community; and it is thus highly to be desired that God would work in the heart of those rulers, according to the precepts of his word, that which, in this case is indispensable for the delivery of consciences and the maintenance of saving truth. I see against this no one fair or plausible objection, unless a ruler should manifest a disposition to return to Popery, and should make it a matter of conscience to interfere in affairs of the church. If any ruler has a scruple against this superintendence, the grounds on which the duty rests should be explained to him. I do not, however, think that it is for this reason that, in many places, the *jura episcopalia* are so badly performed by those rulers; but it is probably on this account solely that they do not acknowledge the obligation of their office, that they adhere to Christianity only in externals, or they listen to those *dissolute babblers* who represent to them that it does not become a king, a chief, a soldier, or a statesman, to trouble himself with priests' affairs—that such matters should be enjoined upon them who were appointed thereto, all which is not worth refuting. If, again, any ruler were to hesitate on this account, that he did not understand religious matters, and it was therefore better that he should leave them to the management of those who had studied them, his sin, in this case, is more pardonable, but he is not to be quite excused; for we do not exactly expect from him the duties of a minister of religion, nor the highest attainments on religious subjects, especially in controversies and the history and documents of the church (though such knowledge would be both becoming and laudable), but that he should understand and promote the chief points of that Christian doctrine which is already sufficiently carried out, understood, and in common use; and, on the other hand, that he should, with due moderation, and as far as his power extends, according to Christian order, remove whatever is opposed and injurious, and to this end should listen to the opinion and statements of his pious and spiritual counsellors and ministers of religion; and that he himself should watch over their conduct and deportment, and thus be a Christian overseer, or *episcopus*, as he is himself a Christian, and thus the first member or person, and the father of all his Christian subjects, and is called to such oversight by the general decree of the empire and the province, which is binding upon him.

order and courtliness, in fact would make her stand *respectably* with the world; just think what it is you are doing. Do you know what happened to them who, with good intentions, touched the ark of God? Do you come with that good Samaritan's heart, which presented soothing oil to him who was wounded by robbers? Do you really feel the true necessities of the church? It is in your power to exercise the richest affections. But have you ever listened to the beatings of her heart? You do not understand, I fear, that Protestant church which yet you propose to heal. It is not in the wondrous cathedral of St. Peter—not over turtle soup and toasts that you can become acquainted with her. Leave her alone. It is not your medicine that the patient needs, nor is she yet a corpse for you to make a mummy of her. No prophet's tomb for her requires your decoration—she still lives, and will continue to live when your proud historically important decorations, which, after all, are only the false tapestry of Rome, have not a shred left to feed a moth. Though suffering from stripes and wounds, which another physician heals, she will soon have put down her enemies; even your pharmacy will do her no mortal injury, for she is provided with an antidote—she is the true Mithridates, as long as she keeps the arcanum which you know not, and cannot take from her. Perhaps you also may find it out in time, and learn to delight in that inner excellence of hers, so as to give up all idea of patching her with outward finery. When you can honestly say, "Thou art black, my love, but comely;" then—yes, then—the time will be for you to put forth your hand and help her—then might you become her knights defenders, whose services she needs, and she would fain award that honour even to you.

Perhaps it might be proper in this place to refer to those literary chanticleers, who for some years have been crowing about the new day, which shews as if it were now about to dawn upon the Protestant church, and to inquire about that thread of scarlet,* which strings together various productions; such as, certain "Rudiments of Church Government," "Offerings of Erlangen and Osnabruck:" the appeal to club law of the *Studien*, (1841, by Frei,†) down to the visions of John,—in which the famous "winter

* In allusion to Rothe's opinions concerning the church.

† Vid. Studien und Kritiken, 1841, p. 514: "Every true Christian, whose mind is furnished with sufficient information to follow the developments of history—and one is surely justified in supposing that such information is possessed by the families of princes, and by great officers of state—can scarcely help clinging to the idea that all individual churches now existing are but elements of the one universal church. Whenever, therefore, a German government, relying on the good cause, shall have the courage to make this idea of a universal church her *only confession*, and shall constitutionally (by an order in council?) declare and maintain, that, with the intention of bringing all her citizens to a union in this confession, freely considered and freely resolved upon, she would protect and conduct the different churches only with a view to that; no violation of rights will be occasioned thereby; the stability of outward life will not be affected, but only the soul which moves in it. The best of the nation will make the cause of the government their own, &c. And may God soon stir up a *reforming prince*, who, with '*club in hand*,' will force his way thereto."

campaign"* promises to bring to a peaceful conclusion the hostilities of those mighty influences which make and mar the fates of mankind; and this, as the herald of the Allgemeine Zeitung informs us, is at the same time to assist in bringing the "Episode" of Protestantism to a happy issue. But this subject will be better referred to in another place. In the meantime, let these labourers be active in bringing together the materials for this modern antique temple; let them go on to practise their noble masonry, as hitherto, *incognito*, or, as the honest Swabians, bring forth their cargoes of hewn stone to the light of day, and navigate the great stream with flying colours. Neither their Rome nor their Cologne will be built in a day; and in spite of the window of Swabia and Bavaria, there is no danger of the Babel-tower of union reaching up to heaven; nor will the royal feast of all masons, in the coming autumn, see the foundation-stone laid of the New Jerusalem.

But to conclude, we may fairly leave St. James to God and futurity. The most specious official pretext for the bishopric was the mission; but one who is entitled to give an opinion on this subject, from having been intimately acquainted and closely connected with the mission to Palestine for many years—viz., Dr. Barth, comes forward and declares that no advantage for the mission would be gained by means of a bishop; people ought not to deceive themselves. (Calwer, Mission Blatt. 42. 1.) Next comes the journal of Gobat, the missionary located there in the service of the English church, and informs us that the mission in the east had been sensibly disturbed in its operations already, in consequence of the bishop's presence. (Vid. Baseler Heidenbose, 42, No. 3.)† That poor Alexander personally meets with a great deal of vexation, is an additional circumstance which might have been foreseen. It were well if a still greater danger did not threaten both himself and his cause, from the necessary degree in which his episcopal existence is interwoven with the worldly interests of England in Syria, opposed as these are to other worldly interests. There is something perilous in the spot, as the kingdom of Jerusalem has taught us long ago.

* Alluding to Schelling's Lectures, in 1841, at Berlin.

† With an insolence to be expected only from episcopal exclusiveness, Nicolayson, of Jerusalem, demanded of the Druses, that the American missionaries, who had for ten years been the spiritual fathers of that tribe in their hard struggles for civilization, proved such during the years of suffering and oppression, and whose removal their enemy, the Maronite patriarch, had by every possible intrigue in vain endeavoured to effect, should *be expelled*, and the Anglo-episcopal missionaries received; indeed, one might fancy himself removed to Otaheite. But this was not enough: the Basle Missionary Magazine, 1841, No. IV., p. 158, distinctly states, that the declaration of Nicolayson that the Druses could not enjoy the protection of England as long as they refused to receive English missionaries, encouraged the Maronites to make that well-known attack which compelled the Americans to flee, the result of which was, a fearful massacre perpetrated by the Druses. What! are we for a scandalous affair like this to collect money in our churches? A fine practical illustration of the peaceful motto on Alexander's crest!—the lion with the flag, like other monsters of heraldry, seems to thirst for blood.

How it will go with the eastern churches remains to be seen. If a nearer approach to them was expected from the episcopal quality of the missionary, we certainly cannot perceive a condescension to eastern nations in all the qualities of that dignified personage, surrounded as he is with outward blessings, like those of an Old-Testament patriarch. May the storms of his entrance have been only the storms of spring; may the jealousy excited in Catholics in Palestine, not long deny to the Protestant wanderers the ease which they have hitherto enjoyed; or may the new hospital soon repair the injury which here also an inconsiderate step has occasioned; and, on the whole, may Providence turn to good account what men have imprudently begun! This hope does not forsake us, though at present we see in St. James's bishopric only the failure of a masterpiece of romantic diplomacy.

REMARKS

ON

THE NEWLY-ESTABLISHED BISHOPRIC AT JERUSALEM.

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*** The following remarks were called forth by the perusal of the Sermon preached by Dr. M'Caul, at the Consecration of Bishop Alexander. They contain a review of the prospects held out to the Mission in this discourse as compared with the statement of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the other official documents concerning the new Bishopric.

REMARKS,

ETC.

1. The idea itself, of placing an evangelical bishop at Jerusalem, must certainly be called a most fortunate one, when taken in those points of view so beautifully illustrated by Dr. M'Caul. In the district, which has been very judiciously assigned to the new bishopric—namely, *Abyssinia*, *Egypt*, *Syria*, and *Chaldea*, there already exist not only evangelical missions, but in part Christian congregations, formed of natives of the western countries, who are settled there. At *Schoa*, in the south of *Abyssinia*, there is a missionary, sent by the Church Missionary Society in England, and two more labourers were just on the point of hastening to assist him, when (in September 1841) the intrigues of the French among the Darkallis on the coast of Africa went so far as to stop them, through murderous attacks made on the convoy of the missionaries (see Heathen Messenger, Nos. 3 and 4 of this year), from advancing further at the moment into the Highlands. These are now gone to Jerusalem, in order to obtain the ordination of the English church from the new bishop—(they are, like the missionary Krapff in Ankobar, Germans, natives of Wirtemberg, pupils of the missionary school at Basle),—and to receive new rules of deportment; and if the English should succeed in carrying through their negotiations with Salahe Selasse, king of Schoa, they intend to travel thither, and to establish a mission among the Galla nations of the interior of Africa. How advantageous must it be for missionaries in such a position, under these quickly changing circumstances, to have a guiding power near at hand, which can at least give advice with authority. Moreover, *Aden* is become a British possession, and soon enough the coast near Tadschura will see British manufactories arise, if Britons themselves do not settle at Schoa.

In *Egypt* there are two missionaries belonging to the same society, whose task is a double one, to keep themselves in constant connexion with the Arabs (Mohammedans) and the Copts (Christians). The preaching of the gospel is attended with difficulties there, but their school establishments have been blessed in

their labours among both populations; and it is to be hoped, that the seed which was sown in troubled times, will spring up in more tranquil days. The election of the young Copt priest, *Andraus*, as Abuna (Patriarch) of the northern Habesch, is a noble fruit; and it may be hoped, from signs which may be depended on, that the intrigues of the Jesuits, among whom is the false Jacoby, will not much longer prevent the preachers of the gospel from entering Tigre and Gondar. How necessary just at that time must it be, to have a person near at hand who combines expertness and knowledge with the requisite authority, not to mention the English Christians who are settled in Cairo and Alexandria.

The third mission is that of the Church Missionary Society to the Jews in Jerusalem; and that this will derive the greatest benefits from so distinguished a man as Bishop *Alexander*, and in *such* a situation, is to be expected with certainty. It is of itself a matter of great importance, that the bishop can no longer be refused a *church*. Besides the attention of Christians, the active sympathies of their native country, the interest of travellers will be more directed to that point; the society will be able to accomplish more; the movements of the mission will be quicker, its measures will be more energetic, and it will act with more than redoubled vigour. A native Jew, a German, an English bishop, and above all, a truly pious, amiable character, a learned man,—the combination of all these qualities cannot but have an animating influence on this mission.

The English church—that is to say, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Bishop of London, will send missionaries to the *Druses* in *Lebanon*. A particular society in England intends to send Christian physicians there. The Missionary *Gobat* is to be commissioned to work among the Syrian *Arabs* and the *Druses*. Of these operations also, the bishop will in future be the moving centre. Finally comes the question, whether the literary institution of the Church Missionary Society, which has hitherto been at *Malta*, in which hundreds of thousands of Christian writings are printed in the Arabic, Turkish, Greek, and Amharic languages, and are distributed on all sides, might not be transplanted to Jerusalem? There it would be in its proper place; from thence the writings would go, in the track of the apostles, into all the countries of the eastern Mediterranean and of Asia Minor. The plan also for arranging a place for education for Orientals, Christians, and Mussulmans, will now on no account be carried out at Malta, as it was intended by the Church Missionary Society, but rather in the Holy City, where the Jewish college will be able to facilitate the undertaking, or perhaps even render it superfluous. The knowledge which will collect around the bishop, of the nations and languages, and which indeed has already collected, (he himself is an able Orientalist: with him are the missionaries *Ewald* and *Nicolayson;* not far off is *Gobat,* and *Isenberg* will soon return,) must facilitate intercourse, the interchange of means of every

kind, and the assignment of reinforcements to the most important point. In short, so far all is hopeful.

2. But besides these, there are other missionaries in Jerusalem itself, in Beyrout, and in Damascus. There are the American Congregationalists, who were about to extend an entire net of missions over that country. The ramifications of their mission are shortly to stretch along the Syrian coast, as far up as Scanderoom, in Lebanon, along the Orontes, and beyond the Euphrates, over Mosul and Mardin, to the Nestorians, and to Kurdistan and Persia, in the north, towards Asia Minor, and as far as Smyrna, Brussa, and Constantinople. Now, we may think as we please about their church government, and though the unfavourable opinion of some of them formed by English travellers should be correct, in their proceedings *as a whole*, and in the *majority* of their labours, they have proved themselves to be men of God. Any attempt to disturb their labours would be culpable. Now, suppose an English missionary enters the Lebanon, and pays a visit to the Druses; suppose he hears from these, only with displeasure, how much they love the Americans as their fathers, and how joyfully they allow them to establish schools among them; and suppose he thinks it his duty to tell them that the English, and not the Americans, are the proper missionaries for them, without wishing to disparage an otherwise able missionary—we fear, if this example is to be the scale of hope for the official liberality of the bishop, that strife and disturbance will follow in the train of a measure in connexion with which so much has been beautifully said about unity. It is easy to see that the Americans will not place themselves under the authority and guidance of the bishop, because they have hitherto found, by experience, that they can labour successfully without such support. The bishop, too, will neither expect nor desire that they should. If, then, collisions should take place—and there will be no lack of these—which will be brought to bear upon them, the bishop's amiable private character or his official exclusiveness? Much will depend upon that. For, in the first case, the bishop might stand at the head of all the missionary labourers in his district, not indeed as their commander, but to give them counsel, and assist them by his official influence. It is *only thus* that his operations will answer to the beautiful picture presented by Dr. M'Caul. It is only then that the exhibition of an evangelical Christian community will exercise an influence upon Christians, Jews, and Mussulmans of the east, when evangelicals are *united*. But if they already bring with them division and narrow-mindedness, then, on their part, more is lost and spoiled by the erection of a bishopric, than gained and corrected. We fear nothing about the *person*—all our fears relate to the *thing*. It will be difficult for the bishop, by the side of other missionaries who are not subordinate to him, to observe the direct path of love and brotherly feeling; not because his heart is not adapted to it, but because he set out under the auspices of the "apostolical succession,"

because, at the cradle of his bishopric, it was sung to him, that he was not only an English bishop, a missionary bishop, but that he was, by right and by succession, a bishop of the circumcision, the successor of James, while the other bishops were heathen, bishops,and the missionaries of the Americans, the Scotch, &c., were nothing at all, because they assemble about no bishop's throne.

3. But, without considering the missionaries of other churches the new arrangement presents many dangers to the mission. We know how much at all times the presence of inanimate Christians has injured the labours of messengers of the gospel; for there they stood, the express witnesses that a man may be a Christian without living to God; an evangelical Christian, without a walk conformable to his profession. The worthy Bishop Alexander will give no cause for this suggestion; his influence will be the opposite; so long as he remains the bishop, there is nothing of this kind to fear. But the see of a bishop is an *institution* which cannot be allowed to fall to the ground. He will have successors, unless his life should attain that object, which is the highest and most noble of his office—viz., the end of the present missionary epoch for Israel, by the universal conversion of the Jews. These successors will be nominated in high places; the archbishops and bishops of England, and the government for the time being, will have the chief voice in the appointment. These authorities are not like the missionary societies, which can fill up their number in the same spirit as that in which they were founded. Is not the nomination of a bishop so much an attribute of the ministry, that the king once kept awake all night in order to be beforehand with his minister in the nomination of the man of his choice? Has it not been suggested to us that even the present minister will feel himself obliged to elevate Puseyites to the bench? We say this, only to prevent the rise of too great expectations. Suppose a bishop should ever appear in Jerusalem, who, with the Puseyites, derived justification from works, advocated pilgrimages and processions, and was a Roman Catholic, except that his pope was in London instead of Rome—would he be recalled? Could such a dignitary of the church be recalled like a missionary? and, if not, the consequences are easily foreseen.

4. Let us follow the archbishop's manifesto. It speaks of the hope that German and English Christians will emigrate to Palestine, and there form a church under the bishop—i. e., of *Christian colonization*. It is true, that desert country, so rendered by the Turkish inability to govern wisely, affords space for hundreds of thousands of emigrants to settle, to find labour and support. We will not here enlarge on the soil and its fertility in the immediate neighbourhood of the bishop in Judea; a better soil is found in Samaria and Galilee. We must confine ourselves to observing, that no Frank, not even the bishop himself, is allowed to acquire landed property. This permission must first of all be obtained

from the High Porte, and if this permission were granted, it would not be regarded by the Pacha, who governs the Holy Land, as sad experience proves. The bishop might certainly remain undisturbed in his possessions, but would that be the case with the poorer and more insignificant settlers? In order to dispose the Pacha to do justice, bribery would be necessary; and as these officers are often changing, the bribery must be constantly renewed, till at length it would grow into a regular tax. The gain from agriculture must be very great, to bear so extraordinary an impost. Then the mode of taxation which has hitherto prevailed—viz., that of the sale of offices and the farming of the taxes, has proved itself, in all Turkish countries, a blood-sucking vampyre for agriculture. By this means, far more than by all her wars, has Palestine become waste and depopulated; this alone, and not any wonderful change in her climate, is the curse that oppresses the Holy Land. Is it intended to wait respecting the colonies till the Turkish system of taxation is essentially changed, till this change also has been *realized* in the more distant provinces, or to obtain an exemption for the colonists by means of negotiation? Something of this kind must be done. But as yet, whose protection are the colonists to enjoy? Has not the British Consul himself been obliged to leave Jerusalem for safety, and that while English cannon were still mounted at Beyrout? Will he, or will the bishop, whom his Government has declared to be purely a private person, be able to afford protection, even within the walls? and who will keep the rapacious Bedouins without in proper respect? They, too, will have to be paid, or a military force must be kept in readiness. And if we were to suppose that, beside the British consul, a Prussian consul also were to make his residence in the Holy City, for the protection of the German settlers, even this would not remove the difficulties. But without colonization, the bishop will obtain no flock—at least, none of any consequence at first—in order to make the impression which is intended.

5. That "the ultimate effects of the new bishopric cannot be with certainty foretold," is a word of proper caution in the English manifesto. There is an organ, another mighty organ, there, and God will know how to use it. The archbishop, however, from that distant and extensive missionary field in the east takes a sudden leap over to one that is nearer: he penetrates into the heart of Europe—into *Germany!* "We may reasonably hope," says he, "that, under the Divine blessing, it may lead the way to an essential unity of discipline, as well as of doctrine, between our own church and the less perfectly constituted of the Protestant churches of Europe, and that, too, not by the way of Rome." If a true union of feeling had been here intended it would have been all very well. But in that case, so much would not have been said respecting this essential unity having *to be brought about*, as respecting its *really existing already*. For an *essential unity* in *doctrine* is assuredly a unity in the characteristic main doctrines of

Protestantism. It is universally known what these are. First of all, the doctrine of justification—i.e., the doctrine of the immediate relation by grace of every individual Christian to God, through living faith in Christ, through spiritual communion with him—and the doctrine which is built thereon respecting the church, as being the communion of these faithful and justified persons. Then the doctrine of the sole validity of the Holy Scriptures as the source and standard of faith, the rejection of dogmatical tradition, and of those doctrines which rest entirely upon that—viz., the merit of works, the seven sacraments, Popery, &c. To these belong essentially the Protestant acceptation of the sacraments. But in these respects all Protestant churches, the English not excepted, are as much agreed as any individual national church is within itself. This is only denied by *parties* who would convert Predestination, the special import of the Lord's Supper, &c., into a Shibboleth of separation. There exists already a *harmony of evangelical confessions; the existence of the one and only evangelical-Protestant church, divided into national churches*, is a *fact already realized*. But this the manifesto does not seem to pre-suppose, because it only *hopes* for a unity of doctrine. In fact, the idea still prevails in England that the Germans have no faith in any of it, but are sheer neologists. A short time since it was asserted that Dr. A. Neander was a decided neologist, on account of his "History of the Church," which has been translated into English; and I have heard speak also in England of Tholuck's Neology. But the want of unity lies more deeply than this. There remains in the high-church principles respecting the priesthood, episcopacy, and the church, somewhat of the Romish leaven, which regards the church as the *mediatrix* of the state of grace between God and man. This does not exist in the creeds, but in the discipline, the constitution—in the stress which is laid on the ordination of the "bishops of succession." The pious and eminent men in the sound "centre" of the church, (vide Allgemeine Zeitung, No. 641,) are far from following out this principle. They wish for this discipline only so far as it *establishes* the church. But the restless Puseyites follow out its consequences, and hence there arises, as a *consequence* of the discipline, an actual difficulty about the *doctrine;* so that unless God shall avert further mischief, the question whether a unity of German and English Protestantism *exists* might, in a short time, have to be easily answered otherwise than at present. If, therefore, at present nothing more were required as to the doctrine than that both parties, Germany and England, should be better acquainted with each other, the case is different respecting the *discipline*. What the *essential* unity is to be in that, it is not difficult to guess. It can only consist in the *episcopal order*, in a similar *form of worship*, and in the *liturgy*—what exists besides in the English Church—viz., the spiritual peerage, the extension of patronage, &c., can never be transferred. But between Prussia and Germany, so far, everything is the same; in

both cases bishops are at the head of the church, and their liturgies are allied to each other.

In what, then, can the "less perfect constitution" on the part of the Germans alone consist, except in the absent apostolicity of the bishops, in the want of succession, and in the liturgies not being identically the same? So that by the *hoped for* union we cannot understand much more than what the English certainly, the Prussians scarcely, and the other Germans not at all desire—an adoption of the English liturgy on the part of German bishops—an unhappy imitation on an incongruous basis.

We must not find fault with an English archbishop for these sanguine hopes; we must even regard the adoption of a foreign church government and ordination, by individual clergymen and missionaries, as an easy yoke, if there are higher objects to obtain, such as the conversion of the nations. That government (of the English church) is not opposed to Scripture, and does not take the place of the doctrine in the word of God, as does the Romish. In holy, spiritual things, which expand beyond all that is national, one should not and must not allow himself to be disgusted with a thing because it is foreign. But one must keep his eyes open, and not hope for any strength against the Romish church from the armour of Saul, if put upon little David. Let every one fight in his own way, and if the shepherd-lad has nothing but sling-stones, he will hit the better for it. Thus let the German church continue to make a stand against the enemy, and not envy the English their gilded harness. They need it, to be sure, but we can do without it. We merely touch upon these points, because they illustrate what follows.

6. The archbishop approaches the oriental churches with "friendship," and hails their prelates as brethren, as bishops of the succession. Now nothing at all could be said against this, if one did not compare what is said about the German Protestant churches. It may not have been so intended, but the expression and the tone betray an acknowledgment of equal rank to these prelates, but a feeling towards the German churches, like what was expressed lately by a Nestorian towards us—"We are brothers, but you are the little brothers, and *we* are the great brothers." On these, the Christian churches in the east, the contemplation of the evangelical church in Jerusalem, is to work—is to work advantageously and attractively for their conversion. In order to this, as we have before remarked, union and fraternal connexion with the members of other national churches is indispensable. But if the behaviour of the bishop to the members of the German congregations were at all in accordance with the feeling which the English high-church openly cherishes towards the "less perfectly constituted" churches of Germany, what else would the orientals see in that case, except that the *brotherly* feeling was not over strong among Protestants, after all.

We may be well assured that the Greek and Armenian Chris-

tians will not all at once be cured of their errors of a thousand years' standing by means of the new evangelical institution. We may assume from analogy that a party of them will obstinately resist the cure. It may be clearly foreseen too, that even the reformed Greek and Armenian churches will always be much more unlike the English than the German Evangelical churches are. If, then, these oriental Christians perceive how much importance is attached to such differences by the English, and what anxious care is taken that the English form should at length be the only prevailing one, is this likely to impress them with the idea that their *own* peculiarities will be specially regarded? The archbishop's manifesto has done exactly that which ought to have been most carefully avoided. The bishop should have been a *Catholic evangelical* one, whereas, by a sort of barter of particularities, they have been all along employed in petty estimates, as to how much was to be allowed to German peculiarities, and how much given to the English. With the professed desire of exhibiting to Jews and Greeks, Armenians and Mohammedans, the *evangelical church*, in *her genuine vitality of faith*, great pains have been taken to conceal from them the diversity in the members of the one evangelical church, and to present to them the appearance of a unity in outward subordinate matters, which does not exist out of England, and which never can. In this way the English church has been allowed to be represented as the evangelical church, and a union has been entered into, like that of which a peasant, who well understood Christianity, once said, "I can agree to any kind of union, if all others will adopt *my* plan." Let us now hear how we are borne out in our conclusions by the manifesto :—

(*a.*) The Bishop of Jerusalem is to be nominated by the Crown of England *without* German concurrence, or by the Crown of Prussia, *with* the veto of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Has this archbishop also a veto against the nomination of his own sovereign! Is not Anglicanism in this way warranted in its own peculiarities, while Catholicity is prejudiced?

(*b.*) It is expressly said, that in the college for converted Jews, Greeks, Druses, &c., only the *English* church is strictly to be represented, and that the teaching and management is to be according to her rules. Nothing here will be perceptible, or will be allowed of Prussian influence.

(*c.*) German congregations, who place themselves under the bishop, will have German ministers, but still only such as have been ordained by the bishop, (after signing the Thirty-nine Articles.*) Doubtless, German clergymen can give this signature without scruples of conscience, and can admit this ordination; but why should clergymen ordained in Germany not be qualified for their office if they afterwards only sign the articles? Certainly; because it is not competent to an English bishop to acknowledge any clergy

* This is no longer insisted upon.

except those ordained by bishops, and by English bishops. And here the ideas of succession again peep out, and the Catholic feeling of comprehension is only to be exercised on the part of Germany, not at all on that of England.

(*d.*) These ministers are to use a liturgy which has before been acknowledged as a good one by the archbishop, which is compiled from the *ancient* liturgies, is similar to the English, and has been sanctioned by the archbishop and bishop—viz., the Prussian. Thus, the judgment about the admissibility of a particular liturgy is given up to English jurisdiction, which is to receive or to reject even for German congregations. The Germans, on the contrary, approve beforehand of the English liturgy, or rather they are not asked whether they do or not. Is that impartial Catholicity? The other German liturgies, as that of Wurtemburg, Bavaria, Saxony, are in the first place thrown overboard.

(*e.*) This liturgy is to be used *only* in the German language. It will not be allowed, therefore, to be translated into Arabic, Greek, &c., for the use of the *mission.* Therefore the mission, or at any rate the regulation and guidance of congregations among the oriental nations, is exclusively reserved for the English church.

(*f.*) The English bishop is to *confirm* in the German congregations—i.e., perform that office in which the younger members of the church formally declare their entrance into its fellowship. The confirmation will be performed in *English*, the young members of the church will therefore all be *received into the English church.* We do not bring all this forward in order to declare that we lay any mighty stress upon the question, whether a German enters the English church. No! just because we know and love the unity of the Protestant church, we think that question of no importance; and we still less care to what form of the church proselytes from the heathen or the Jews are won over, as long as they are evangelical Christians. The English church is rich in life, is powerful, and adapted to nourish millions in spiritual things. We grudge her no increase, we look upon her as our own, as the true church of Christ; but we do expect that whoever, whether in England or Germany, speaks about the evangelical Catholic bishopric in Jerusalem, and of its operations as such, will inquire more deeply what true *Catholicity* is, and whether it has yet obtained that emancipation from mere nationality which is due to it. According to *official* papers, as they lie before us, this Catholic feeling of liberty and brotherly equality is still much wanting in the principles of the new bishopric.

7. One word more, in conclusion, about Palestine, the mission there, and the Oriental churches. The Americans have hitherto only turned their attention to the Armenians, Greeks, Druses, &c.; the others are engaged on behalf of the Jews. The Turks remain, like the Arabs, excluded, because there has been no hope of Mohammedans. It is true, a Turk is forbidden, on pain of death, to become a Christian; and as long as this law remains in force, the

labour of missionaries is difficult. Even if the law were not enforced by the authorities, it would be by popular fanaticism, as in the Mohammedan provinces of Russia. But was not Christianity just as much prohibited in the first ages? Does not the punishment of death to this day, in China and in Madagascar, await the heathen who shall confess himself a Christian? And is no missionary work possible on that account? But a Turk (it may be said) is hardly ever converted. True, but was it not so in other missionary fields, in the South Seas, in China, and even in the East Indies? If one ten years after another passes away without any fruit of his labour, the missionary must work for half a century; he must continue to distribute Christian writings, to open schools, to preach and to converse wherever he can obtain a hearing. The truth could not be truth if it were everywhere and always to fail. Thus Palestine still presents an unoccupied field; almost nothing as yet has been done for Turks and Arabians. For the Jews, the bishopric in Jerusalem, with all that surrounds it, is the fairest and most appropriate institution, and from that quarter we expect the richest fruits. If the college ever comes to be established, it may pave the way for great things. It is an important work to preach, as far as this is practicable, to the numerous pilgrims to the Holy Land from all countries, and to distribute good books among them; for this seed is carried into all lands. The Americans have begun this work, and they should be allowed to carry it on without interference. But with respect to oriental Christian settlers, the labour employed upon them must certainly be of a different nature. They do not need to be furnished with the framework of the church and its ordinances, nor a confession of faith and a knowledge of the elements of the gospel. They already *possess* something, and this it is not necessary to overthrow. The Americans in Urumia have engaged in the instruction of the Nestorians, have preached the word to them plainly and simply, have established schools, and spread Christian knowledge among them far and wide. The church—the old Nestorian church, revives again; she will reform herself according to the word of God, and the true union with her is then already concluded.

Let the same course be taken in Palestine. There the work has not been done by episcopal institutions, but by the teaching and the life of missionaries. The end would here be best brought about by means of entire congregations, Christian evangelical colonies, which combine a powerful profession with agriculture and assiduity, and with Christian regularity in their daily life. Let every such congregation have a minister and a schoolmaster; let it have one or more missionaries, in order that they may speak about Christ to Arabians, Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Copts—to every nation, in their own language. The market, the booth, the street of the Christian colony, may become a place for preaching. Here the view of the service of God and a Christian life, of schools and intercourse, will unite its efficacy with the preaching of the

missionary and the written word. These congregations, then, should be *missionary congregations*, unlimited in the use of their religious means, on all sides and in all languages. If the bishop would assist and counsel such congregations, though independent of him, whenever they required it, with all the love and influence of a true Catholic head of the church, without exacting from them anything in the way of liturgy, confirmation, and the like, he would stand where he does in the right place, and would exhibit a true evangelical unity of the church, and not one which is *artificial* and ineffectual. If the governments would exert themselves, and obtain for these churches the outward sure foundations for their continuance, they would secure those advantages for Palestine and the East for which they strive. Even for the more distant heathen countries, for India and Africa, such churches might become of importance as the centre of the missionary spirit, in a manner which we will not point out here; at any rate, they would serve as a refuge, as a home, and as a means of instruction to the new converts in the East.

Only we should not be in haste to take measures for founding colonies, until the outward conditions necessary for them are ready. We should endeavour to remain independent, in an ecclesiastical point of view, as long as no wider foundation has been laid than that which is pictured to us above; we should avoid all speculation, and deportation of the poor; we should have the mission, and nothing but the mission, in view; we should take as settlers not narrow-minded Lutherans, nor exclusive Calvinists, but true Catholic Christians; we should guard against expecting great fruit before the time; we should banish all idea of bringing on the accomplishment of the great promises for the land of the covenant by artificial means.

And if such as we have described as desirable be the working of the bishopric of Jerusalem, it will assuredly have accomplished a great work, and will be crowned with its reward.

T. C. Savill, Printer, 107, St. Martin's Lane

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TRANSLATION

OF THE

CONFESSION OF AUGSBURG;

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM HENRY TEALE, M.A.,

LEEDS.

"The celebrated Confession is every way worthy of notice, both for its own merits and for the influence it has had, and indeed, to a considerable degree yet retains in the world.....Another thing much to be noted is the spirit in which the work is composed. This is such as to make the perusal of it delightful to the pious mind. It is no mere cold, dry, doctrinal statement: a sacred unction overspreads it. It bears upon its very face to be the production of men with whom religion is a matter of deep and serious feeling: it *all* has a direct reference to what I shall take leave to call *experience*, and to practice: to give relief to distressed consciences, and to produce spiritual obedience.....As a whole the work is admirable; a noble monument of what the reformers contended for—namely, Christian truth, liberty, and spiritual worship."—*Scott's Continuation of Milner's History of the Church of Christ. Vol. I, c. i.*

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INTRODUCTION.

The Confession of Augsburg must ever be an interesting document to English Churchmen, the English Reformers having been much indebted to it in framing our first articles,* upon which those enjoined by Convocation in the reign of Elizabeth were grounded. And though the articles, little more than the homilies,†—the first

* See "An Attempt to Illustrate those Articles of the Church of England, which the Calvinists improperly consider as Calvinistical," by Archbishop Lawrence in his Bampton Lectures, 1804.

† It must not be supposed that the writer considers the homilies of the same authority as the articles. This, perhaps, is a necessary protest, when it is not unusual to style these formularies "*The Homilies of the Church of England;*" a title, as Bishop Jebb observes, "which is unsanctioned. The proper one is, 'Sermons, or Homilies, appointed to be read in Churches, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, of famous memory.'" "The misnomer," the Bishop proceeds to state, "is by no means trivial in its consequences. The former title seems to recognize the homilies as authoritative documents of our Church: the latter styles them as they should be styled—sermons, to be read; NOT *authorities, to be alleged and deferred to.*" The italics are the Bishop's own. See his Letter on the Homilies considered, Practical Theology, ii., p. 283. Archbishop

book of which, it may be observed, also contains several passages obviously taken from this Confession,—can be considered as a system of theology, or the voice of the Church, they are venerable both for their antiquity, and the character of their compilers, as well as highly important from the fact of subscription being required to them by all who minister among us in holy things.

But, besides elucidating many of the articles, and disproving their Calvinistic bias, the Confes-

Lawrence expresses the same opinion. "The two books of homilies, written at different periods, were never imposed by our Church upon her respective members, as specific rules of faith.....Should they, in any instance, prove to be at variance with our Liturgy, it would not, I conceive, be difficult to determine in which of the two compositions the creed of our Church is to be found." When the 35th article states, that the second Book of Homilies doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine (*doctrina*) *and necessary for these times*, the meaning of the word *doctrina*, according to Dr. Hey is, "teaching, instruction, and not what the English word *doctrine* usually means." The very fact of saying that the homilies convey pious and moral instruction, or "good and wholesome doctrine," seems to me, says Dr. Hey, "to be opposed to any high pretensions; seems to say, they may not be *perfect*, they may not be above criticism." He also observes that the expression, "*necessary for these times*," refers to "the beginning of *Queen Elizabeth's* reign.....I would farther observe, on the word "*necessary*," that it seems to imply, what we ordinarily call a *case of necessity*: the nature of which is, to occasion certain measures *for a time*, and to have them *left off* when the necessity ceases." Then he adds in a note, "I never was more surprised by a piece of criticism than by one in the Monthly Review, for Sept., 1790, in which the words, "*these times*" are supposed to be understood by each subscriber of his *own* times." Dr. Hey also denies that the clergy subscribe to the homilies.—See Hey's Lectures, vol. iv, p. 463, 464, 468.

sion of Augsburg has now an additional claim to our sympathy from its connexion with the newly formed bishopric of the United Church of England and Ireland, at Jerusalem. In the Statement explanatory of that proceeding, put forth by authority, we read that "congregations, consisting of Protestants of the German tongue, residing within the limits of the bishop's jurisdiction, and willing to submit to it, will be under the care of German clergymen ordained for that purpose;" and that "Germans intended for the charge of such congregations, are to be ordained according to the ritual of the English Church, and to sign the articles of that church; and, in order that they may not be disqualified by the laws of Germany from officiating to German congregations, they are, before ordination, *to exhibit to the bishop a certificate of their having subscribed, before some competent authority, the Confession of Augsburg.*" Such being the case, every English Churchman must be solicitous to know what that Confession of faith is, to which, so far as it is Catholic, and not of course to every proposition contained in it, the English bishop is thus pledged to assent. It is partly with a view to gratify this not unreasonable curiosity, that the following translation is now offered to the general reader.

The translation, however, may, by God's

blessing, be made subservient to a far more important end, than the satisfying of mere curiosity, however laudable. And the writer is not without hope, that when many of those who have zealously contributed towards the support of this bishopric—a measure which would seem likely to be instrumental towards the introduction of episcopacy into the Prussian dominions, an object much desiderated by some of the most eminent divines of the last century*—shall find in the Augsburg Confession, the very doctrines which they are accustomed to condemn, they may be induced to refrain from any further condemnation of them. For if the Real Presence, Baptismal Regeneration, Private Confession, Sacerdotal Absolution and the observance of Feasts and Fasts, be scriptural and unobjectionable in the Confession of Augsburg, they cannot be unscriptural or objectionable in the English Liturgy. And while many of us within

* It is known that Archbishop Tenison contemplated such a measure. Nelson also, in his life of Bishop Bull, p. 403, thus speaks of Dr. Grabe, the learned editor of Bull's Latin works: "He had so great a zeal for promoting the ancient government and discipline of the Church, among all those who had separated themselves from the corruptions and superstitions of the Church of Rome, that he formed a plan, and made some advances in it, for restoring the episcopal order and office in the territories of the King of Prussia, his sovereign; and proposed moreover to introduce a liturgy, much after the model of the English service, into that King's dominions."

the Church may thus learn a lesson of consistency, Protestant Dissenters without, may also see how unreasonable it is to object against our own formularies as being unprotestant, when in a document acknowledged by those to whom, as will be shewn, the designation of Protestant of right only belongs, the most obnoxious doctrines,—so Separatists consider them,—of our formularies are broadly stated. Surely if the Protestants of Germany do not repudiate these doctrines, the Protestant Dissenters of England need not reject them, and hence they should be no obstacle to Sectarians returning, after due contrition for their unnecessary separation, to their bereaved mother, the Church of England.

With these observations so much of the history connected with the events which led to the presentation of the Augsburg Confession shall now be given, as may better enable the general reader to enter into its meaning.

It is an historical fact, that at the beginning of the sixteenth century the Papal corruptions had reached their highest altitude. "Fond things vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God" — "blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits"*—the jargon of the schoolmen—abuses

* Articles XXII, XXXI.

of the monastic system—the insatiable ambition of the Roman Pontiffs, and the general immorality of the clergy, had spread a darkness over the Western Church greatly to the obscuration of Divine Truth. Amid all these sad corruptions, however, there was this consolation—the corruptions were, in part, acknowledged, and "the Reformation of the Church, both in its head and members," was by all pious persons earnestly desired. Of course the revival of learning in the preceding century, had been chiefly instrumental towards producing this feeling; for the study of the Holy Scriptures having supplanted that of the Book of Sentences and the Decretals, the storehouse of Romish imposture and delusion, it was soon found that much of the doctrine and discipline then enforced, had no foundation either in Scripture or the Primitive Church.

How long this desire for reformation might have remained inoperative it is difficult to say, knowing how unwilling most men are to be the leaders in a great movement, and, from the miserable fate of John Huss, the imminent peril there was in attacking a power so formidable as that of the Roman see—had not a circumstance occurred which roused the spirit of one whose impetuosity and fearless-

ness inspired him with indomitable energy and courage. This, it is necessary to add, was Martin Luther, the Augustinian friar, and doctor of Wittemburg.

Leo X., the reigning pontiff, who had succeeded Julius II., A.D. 1513, was a man of great taste in literature and the arts, but withal prodigal and luxurious. Hence his chief object was to obtain the means necessary for his extravagances, and for this purpose he hit upon a measure which bid fair to be successful. The church of St. Peter's, at Rome, which had been begun by his predecessor, being still unfinished, Leo, (1517,) published a general Indulgence to all who should contribute towards its completion, though it was more than suspected that the funds thus raised were to be appropriated to the Pope's own purse. Indulgences, the origin of which was about the twelfth century, are, according to Romanists, remissions of the penalties due to remitted sin, either in this life or in purgatory, and are obtained by performing certain conditions prescribed by the authority which grants the indulgence.* Such was the monstrous doctrine, derogating, it will be observed, from the perfection of the Saviour's Sacrifice, and exalting the Pope almost above

* See Mr. Palmer's seventh letter to Wiseman "On the Doctrine of Indulgences."

Christ Himself, by whose promulgation Leo hoped to replenish his exhausted coffers. No sooner, however, was the sale of these indulgences commenced by John Tetzel, a preaching friar and inquisitor in Germany,—an ignorant, profligate man, formerly condemned to death for adultery,—than Luther, at that time a professor in the recently established university of Wittemburg, set himself to oppose it. On the 31st of Sept., 1517, he exposed this doctrine before the University, in ninety-five propositions, to which, though both Tetzel and Eckius, professor and vice chancellor of the university of Ingolstadt, attempted an answer; they still, in most points, remain unanswerable. Luther also further attacked the doctrine of repentance and justification as held in the Romish Church. These theses however, as he told his diocesan the Bishop of Brandenburg, were not intended to determine dogmatically, the subjects on which he treated for he entirely submitted to the judgment of his Bishop, whom he had before urged to repress the evil conduct of Tetzel.

Luther, therefore, had no wish to be considered as factiously opposing the Church into which he had been baptized, and to which he owed dutiful allegiance. Accordingly, on Trinity Sunday, 1518, he addressed a submissive letter to the

Pope, in which he regrets the necessity which led him to appear as a public disputant, confesses his reverence for the power of the keys, denies the charges of disaffection brought against him by his adversaries,* and concludes by saying: "I cast myself, Holy Father, at your feet, and present myself to you with all I am and have. Give me life or put me to death, confirm or revoke, reprove or disprove as you please; I own your voice as that of Jesus Christ, who rules and speaks by you: If I have deserved death, I refuse not to die."† The letter is also accompanied with a protestation, wherein he declares that he intended to advance nothing contrary to the Holy Scrip-

* Luther thus states his motive for addressing the Pope:—Itaque quo et ipsos adversarios mitigem, emitto ecce meas nugas, declaratiorias mearum disputationum. Emitto autem, quo tutior sim, sub tui nominis præsidio, et tuæ protectionis umbra, beatissime Pater, in quibus intelligunt omnes, qui volent, quam pure simpliciterque ecclesiasticam postestatem et reverentiam clavium quæserim et coluerim, simulque, quam inique et false me tot nominibus adversarii fœdaverint. Si enim talis essem, qualem illi me videri cupiunt, ac non potius omnia disputandi facultate recte a me tractata fuissent, non polusset fieri, ut illustrissimus Princeps Fredericus Saxoniæ Dux,..... hanc pestem in sua permitteret Universitate.—Vide tomus primus omnium operum Reverendi Domini Martini Lutheri, ed. 1558.

† Quare, beatissime Pater, prostratum me pedibus tuæ B. offero cum omnibus quæ sum et habeo. Vivifica, occide, voca, revoca, approba, reproba, ut placuerit, vocem tuam, vocem Christi, in te præsidentis et loquentis agnoscam. Si mortem merui, mori non recusabo. Domini enim est terra, et plenitudo ejus, qui est benedictus in sœcula, Amen, qui et te servet in œternum, Amen. Die S. Trinitatis. Anno M.D.XVIII. —Ibid.

tures, or the doctrines of the Fathers received and held by the Church of Rome.* He made a similar declaration soon after, (Oct. 18,) to Cardinal Cajetan, when he told him that he appealed from the sentence which Cajetan's harsh conduct towards Luther led him to expect—to the Pope better informed; and in this step as Mosheim observes, he seemed yet to respect the dignity and authority of the Bishop of Rome. The Pope, however, issuing a Bull approving indulgences, Luther appealed to a general council, though he still denied his intention of doubting the primacy of the Roman See.

Afterwards Leo sent Charles Miltitz, a Saxon knight, to moderate matters between himself and Luther. In the first conference at Altenburg, (1519,) Miltitz, by his conciliatory bearing, prevailed upon Luther to write another submissive letter to the Pope, in which, after expressing his regret that what he had done for the sake of preserving the honour of the Roman Church, [quod pro tuendo honore Ecclesiæ Romanæ susceperam,] should have been construed into an act of irreverence towards the very head of the same Church,—

* Primum protestor, me prorsus nihil dicere aut tenere velle, nisi quod in et ex sacris literis primo, deinde Ecclesiasticis patribus et Ecclesia Romana receptis, hucusque servatis, et ex Canonibus et Decretalibus Pontificis habetur et haberi potest.—Ibid.

after calling God and every creature to witness that he never intended in any manner to diminish the power of the Church, or of the Pope, and most freely *(plenissime)* confessing that the power of this Church is above all things, and that nothing in heaven or earth is to be preferred before it, except Jesus Christ the Lord of all;* he concludes with a promise to observe a .profound silence in future, if others would cease to propagate their unscriptural dogmas. He also regrets that he had used too great asperity in the controversy. But Luther's opponents became more violent in their opposition than ever, and the consequence was that the pacificatory designs of Miltitz and Luther were rendered abortive. Another circumstance also occurred to widen the breach, and rekindle the flames of controversy. Eckius and Carlostadt, Luther's friend, differing in opinion respecting the doctrine of Free-will, Eckius challenged both Carlostadt and Luther to a public discussion. This led to a further debate on the origin of the authority and supremacy of the Pope, which, though Luther in the beginning of the discussion

* Nunc Beatiss. Pater coram Peo et tota creatura sua testor, me neque voluisse, neque hodie velle, Ecclesiæ Romanæ ac Beatudinis tuæ potestatem ullo modo tangere aut quacunque versutia demoliri. Quin plenissime confiteor hujus ecclesiæ potestatem esse super omnia, nec ei præferendum quidquam, sive in cœlo, sive in terra, præter unum Jesum Christum Dominum omnium.—Lutheri Opera, tom. i., p. 235.

declared that he did not wish to remove any doctrine of the Catholic Church, going sadly against Eckius made him very bitter against Luther. He even proceeded to Rome, and with the assistance of Cajetan and others, persuaded the Pope to issue a Bull against Luther, (15th June, 1520) in which forty-one heresies, as they were called, were selected from his writings, which were condemned to be burnt, and himself on pain of excommunication to retract his errors within sixty days. It is worthy of observation that just before the issuing of this Bull, Luther had made arrangements for proposing an honorable reconciliation between himself and the Pope.

Luther on receiving intimation of the proceedings, again appealed to a general council, and publicly committed the papal Bull to the flames.

Another Bull however was issued against him (6 Jan. 1521), by which he was formally expelled the communion of the Church, for insulting the majesty and denying the supremacy of the Pope. But, as is always the case, these harsh measures only served to invigorate the cause they designed to destroy, and by rendering Luther an object of sympathy, they raised around him a host of new and zealous supporters.

On April 16, 1521, Luther appeared at the Diet of Worms to which he had been summoned by the

Emperor to answer the accusations brought against him in the Pope's Bull. Although the entreaties of the Emperor, Elector, and Papal legates, were insufficient to induce Luther to renounce the principles which he had espoused, he was suffered to leave the Diet, which, after his departure, voted him an enemy to the Roman See, and pronounced him amenable to the denunciation of the Pope's Bull. His friend the Elector of Saxony knowing the danger in which he was now placed, had him privately and forcibly conveyed to the Castle of Wartburg. After remaining there about ten months, during which time he composed several elaborate works, he escaped from his confinement, in order to put an end to the fanatical proceedings of his friend Carlostadt, who was carrying on the work of Reformation with far more zeal than discretion,—overturning the discipline of the college of Wittemburg, abolishing mass, pulling down images, renouncing the habits of his order, and using the Eucharist irreverently. For these indiscretions, Luther severely reprimanded him in a sermon preached on the first Sunday in Lent. "Not says he, "as if it were not a good thing to abolish the mass, but it ought not to be done rashly, and so as to give offence, for if the mass was not an evil thing in itself, I would restore it. I could wish that all the images in the world were

destroyed, but we ought to begin to root out the notions of Rome first out of the people's minds, by good instruction, and then the material images will fall of themselves." Great is the wisdom implied in these sentiments; opposed though they be to the conduct of many who profess to imitate the great German Reformer.

The edict of the diet of Worms still remained inoperative; though the Pope Adrian VI. sent his Nuncio to the diet of Nuremberg, for the purpose of obtaining its execution, he was unable to accomplish his purpose. Nor did better success attend the diet of Spires in 1527. The princes then assembled declared that they could not execute the sentence, nor come to any determination with respect to the doctrines by which it had been occasioned, before the whole matter should be submitted to the cognizance of a general council lawfully assembled; alleging also that the decision of controversies of that kind belonged properly to such a council, and to it alone. The result was that every one was left at liberty to pursue his own course in matters of religion until the meeting of a general council.

This license however was remitted in another diet held at Spires in 1529, when it was decided by a majority of voices that no change should be allowed in the established form of worship till

the assembly of a general council. Justly indignant at such a total reversal of the former decree, the elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and others of the Diet, protested against the decision, whence they were called *Protestants*. Such is the origin of a name, which, though originally applied to those who protested, not against the errors of the Church of Rome, but against the judgment of an Imperial Diet, is now assumed by many who protest as much against Catholic truth as Romish error. Zeal for protestancy, says Kettlewell's biographer, has often bereft men of their Christianity.

It was about two years after this time that the Diet of Augsburg assembled at the command of Charles V. who wished if possible to put an end to these disputes. On this occasion the Lutherans were permitted to produce a written statement of their religious principles and tenets, which document is known in history by the name "the Confession of Augsburg."

The following account of the proceedings of the Diet is taken from Du Pin, of all the papal advocates, according to Milner, the most candid, and the most to be relied on.

"The Emperor arrived at Augsburg, June 13, [1530,] and was received with much ceremony by the Electors and Princes who were got thither before him. The next day, which was

the feast of the Holy Sacrament, he was present at a procession, at which the Elector of Saxony, and the other Protestant Princes refused to be, notwithstanding his imperial majesty much pressed them to it. Two days after he commanded the preachers, which on both sides had till that time maintained their doctrines vigorously, to be silent, and ordered such as he would have to preach without reflecting on any man. On June 20, the first session was held, and a solemn mass was said before it. The Emperor ordered the Elector of Saxony to give his attendance at it, and to carry the spear before him, it being an office belonging to his electoral dignity.* The Elector consulted his divines upon it, who told him, that he might go, because he was not summoned to it, as an act of religion, but as a civil office. Prince George of Brandenburg bore him company, but no other Protestant Prince would be present. Then they went into the hall where the assembly sat, where the Emperor's Chancellor read a long discourse to them, wherein he much enlarged upon the necessity of opposing the progress of the Turk, and then proceeding to matters of religion, he said that the Emperor had called the assembly, that every one might offer in writing what he thought convenient, and that they might consult upon such propositions as should be made. The Diet having deliberated upon the matter, judged it best to begin with such things as concerned religion.

In the next session held four days after, Cardinal Campegius made a discourse, in which he exhorted all the Princes of the empire to obey the Emperor, assuring them, that the Pope would do all he could to bring men to profess the same faith, and to carry on the war against the Turk by common consent. The Elector of Mentz, answered in the name of

* As Chief Marshall of the empire.

the Diet, that the Emperor, as defender of the Church; would use his utmost endeavour to allay the differences about religion, and to carry all his forces against the Turks, and that the Princes would act in concert with him.

The other ambassadors having been heard, the Elector of Saxony, and the other Protestant Princes petitioned the Emperor to suffer their Confession of Faith to be read, but he wouldnot grant it to be read in a full Diet, notwithstanding they much importuned him, but ordered them to trust it with him, promising them to have it read the next day in his palace. The Protestants not being able to procure it to be read in a full Diet, prayed the Emperor to leave itwith them till it could be read. It was read the next day in the presence of the Emperor in a special assembly of Princes, and other members of the empire, and presented to his imperial Majesty in Latin, and German,* with offers of explaining whatever should be thought obscure, and a promise, that though things could not now be amicably composed, they would refer themselves to the determination of a council, to which they appealed, as they had often promised, still adhering to the appeal they had made.

This Confession of Faith, which was afterwards called the Confession of Augsburg, was drawn up by Melancthon, the most moderate of all Luther's followers, out of the memoirs sent to the Elector of Saxony. He had revised and corrected it several times, and could hardly please Luther at

* The Chancellors of the Elector, Bayer and Portanus, rose to read it, the former holding the German, the latter the Latin copy. It being determined that the Confession should be read in German, Bayer had the honour of pronouncing it, and he is said to have read it so distinctly that every syllable was heard not only in the hall, but by the vast multitudes who crowded outside. There were more than two hundred Princes and Divines assembled at the reading of it.

last.* It was divided into two parts. The first contained twenty-one articles upon the chief points of religion. The unity of God, original sin, the incarnation, justification, the gospel ministry, the church, the administration of sacraments, baptism, the Lord's Supper, penance, the use of the sacrament, ecclesiastical orders, the ceremonies of the church, the civil government, the day of judgment, free-will, the cause of sin, faith, good works, and the adoration of saints. The other part was concerning the ceremonies, and usages of the Church, which the Protestants said were abused, such as the communion in both kinds, the marriages of priests, confession, abstinence from meats, monastic vows, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. It was signed by the Electors of Saxony, and Brandenburg,† the Princes Ernestus, and Francis Dukes of Brunswick, and Lunenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, Princess of Anhalt, and the deputies of the cities of Nuremburg, and Reuthlingen. Some of those articles, which were about such heads, as the Lutherans did not contest, were very sound, and orthodox. In others of them they either recanted, disguised, or

* Maimburg says Luther was exceedingly pleased with the Confession, when Melancthon sent him a copy of it: and Seckendorf does not contradict him, but says that Luther was very glad that this occasion was offered of letting the world see what he and his followers taught. Besides, the confession itself is only an expansion of the Torgan articles which Luther himself drew up.

† This is a mistake which Du Pin through haste has committed before. It was not the Elector of Brandenburg, but George Marquess of Brandenburg that was then the Protestant. Foachim then Elector was violently of the other side. Seckendorf says he and George Duke of Saxony were the greatest enemies among the Temporal Princes of the Empire, that the Protestants then had. *Hist. Lutheranis. Lib.* 2, *Sect.* 66, *Num.* 2.

mollified their former errors, and in the rest, they either maintained errors, or condemned Catholic truths, or usages.

After the reading of this Confession, the Emperor dismissed the assembly, that they might consult what resolutions they should come to in this affair. Their judgments were divided. The more hot said, that the Edict of Worms ought to be put in execution, and such as would not obey, ought to be forced by the civil powers. Others were for choosing a certain number of honest, learned, and indifferent persons according to whose judgment the Emperor was to decide all matters; a third party were for giving the Confession of Faith to the Popish Divines to confute, and the confutation to be read in a full Diet before the Protestants. This last advice was taken, and John Faber, Eckius, Conradus de Wimpina, Conradus Collinus, John Cochlœus, and some other Popish Divines were appointed to draw up a confutation, and having finished it, they delivered it to the Emperor, and the Catholic Princes, who were of opinion, that all the biting expressions, which the Divines could not help bringing in, should be taken out. When this was done, the Emperor called together the Protestants, (August third,) told them, that he had communicated their Confession of Faith to certain learned, and religious persons, to give their opinion of it, and to observe, what was found, and what was contrary to the faith of the Church; that they had given their judgments in writing which he himself had approved, and would have read before them, which one of the Secretaries to his Imperial Majesty accordingly did.

The Catholic Divines examined the Protestants' Confession of faith, step by step in their answer, approving some of the articles fully, and absolutely, and rejecting others in the same manner, but there were several of them, of which they liked one part, and disallowed the other. The articles absolutely

approved of were the first about the Holy Trinity, the third about the incarnation, the eighth about the wicked in the church, and that the sacraments administered by wicked persons are valid, the ninth about the necessity of baptism, and about the baptism of infants, the tenth about the Lord's Supper, the thirteenth about the operation of the sacraments, though they judged that article defective, because they did not acknowledge the sacraments to be seven ; the fourteenth about the calling of ministers, provided, that they allow of a canonical ordination ; the sixteenth about the authority of magistrates, the seventeenth about the last judgment of the resurrection, and the eighteenth about free-will. The propositions which they wholly rejected were, the fourth, fifth, sixth, and twentieth. That men are not justified by the merit of good works, but by faith alone ; the seventh, that the church is a congregation of saints, and that it is sufficient to preserve its unity, that men agree in the doctrine of the gospel, and about the administration of the sacraments without following the same usages and traditions; the twenty-first about the invocation, and worship of saints. Those, which they partly received, and partly rejected were the second, about original sin, which they approved, except the definition of sin given in it, which seems to agree better to actual, than original sin ; the eleventh also about absolution, they allowed of, but disliked what is said in it about confession, in the twelfth about repentance, they did not like the assertion, that faith is a part of repentance, and what concerns satisfaction ; the fifteenth is approved as to what is said there, that the rites and ceremonies of the church are to be observed, but rejected it so far, as it says, that the customs received by tradition, as celibacy, and vows, are of no use to obtain grace or make satisfaction to God.

As to the second part of the Confession of Augsburg, in

which the Protestants assert that the communion under one kind, celibacy of priests, the ceremonies of the mass, private masses, the name of sacrifice given to the mass, monastic vows, abstinence from meats, fasts, auricular confession, &c. are abuses. They maintain in their answer, that they are not abuses, but religious and holy usages, commanded by Scripture, and confirmed by tradition; nevertheless, that there are some abuses in them, which need reformation, and which the Emperor promised to obtain. They add, that they hope the Protestants will again return to the communion of the Church, since they already agree with the Catholics in several points heretofore disputed.

When this answer was all read, the Elector of Saxony said in the name of the Protestants, that they were always ready to do any thing which was not prejudicial to their consciences, to come to an union in religion, that if they could prove to them by Holy Scripture that they had advanced any error, they would recant it, and if they desired any further explication they were ready to give it; that since they had approved of some articles of their doctrine and rejected others, it was necessary that they should confirm and explain those that were in dispute; that they desired to have a copy of the confutation of their Confession. The Emperor did not think fit at that time to grant it them, but two days after he offered them one, upon condition that they should not publish it, telling them that he was not willing there should be any further dispute. They refused to receive it on that condition, and so this negotiation had like to have quite broken up, but at the entreaty of the other Princes it was continued, and seventeen persons were nominated by the Catholic party to treat about religion with the Protestants. This Conference was held the seventh of August, at Augsburg. The Elector of Brandenburg, exhorted

the Protestants to satisfy the Emperor by uniting in matters of faith, with the Princes and members of the empire, telling them, that if they did not do it, they would bring great troubles upon Germany by the wars, and tumults, which their separation would raise. The Protestants gave in their answer two days after, by their deputy George Brucke, and having declared, that they took it ill to be threatened, they complained, 1. That the Emperor would not suffer them to be heard sufficiently. 2. That they could not be allowed a copy of the confutation of their confession, but upon hard terms. 3. That it was expected, that they should approve of it without reading or examining it, which they could not do with a safe conscience, 4. That though it was promised, and concluded in the last Diet of Spires, that a council should be held, nothing was done in it since. This answer being delivered in writing, the committee of the Catholic deputies declared, that they had no design either to offend them, or threaten them, and what they had said of the ill consequences, that would happen, if the Diet was dissolved before they came to any agreement in religion, it was intended for the benefit of the whole nation; then they answered the four articles, 1. That since the Emperor allowed them to propose whatever they pleased in that assembly, and to confer with them about the ways of agreement, they had no reason to complain of his Imperial Majesty. 2. That the condition, on which the Emperor offered them a copy of the confutation of their confession was not hard, because he was sensible how they used the Edict of Worms, and to prevent the like dealings with this last writing, he thought it convenient not to make it public before the time. 3. That they might with greater safety, and better conscience consent to the doctrine of the universal Church than of a small number of heretics and apostates, who could not agree among themselves. 4. That

the Emperor having two wars upon his hands, could have no hopes of holding a council at present, and besides, Luther had declared, that he would not submit to the judgment of a council,* wherefore they conjured them to join with the Emperor, and the Church, and not to continue in a schism, which would so much endanger their own safety; that if they knew any other way of coming to an agreement, they might propound it, and they would represent it to his Imperial Majesty. The Protestants after they had excused their separation, offered to choose a small number of persons on both sides, who might treat amicably and friendly together, and consult whether they could not find out some way of agreement. This proposition was received, and both parties named seven persons to confer about religion; two princes, two lawyers, and three divines. The Catholics were, the Bishop of Augsburg, the Duke of Brunswick, the Chancellor of the Archbishop of Cologne, and the Chancellor of the Marquess of Baden, and the divines, Eckius, Wimpina, and Cochlœus. For the Protestants were, the Elector of Saxony's son, the Marquis of Brandenburg, the lawyers Brucke and Heller, and the divines, Melancthon, Brentius, and Schnepfius. These persons being met together agreed upon fifteen of the one and twenty Articles of the Confession of Augsburg, so that there remained but six, and of them three were only disputed against in part, and the other three were remitted to the second part, of their confession, about which it was harder to agree. The Lutherans agreed to these points of doctrine. That men should not for the future, be said to be justified by Faith only, but by Faith and Grace; that good works are necessary; that reprobates are included in the church; that man hath a free-will; that the blessed saints interceded for us, and may be honoured.

* This is the very reverse of the truth as we have seen.

In the other seven articles they agreed, that the body and blood of Christ were contained in both elements, and that they would not condemn the laity, who would receive the Eucharist, under one kind only; that the usual veneration might still be given to the Holy Sacrament; that the public mass should be celebrated with the usual ceremonies; and that they should observe what is essential in the Consecration; that the fasts on the Vigils might be still observed, and some holy days kept: that the bishops should hold their jurisdictions, and that parish-priests, preachers, and other ecclesiastical persons should submit to them in spiritual matters, and lastly, that their excommunications should not be contemned. The Catholic divines having made their report, to the diet, on the 22nd day of August, upon what terms they stood with the Lutherans who gave some hopes of uniting again to the Church, it was thought, that it would be a speedier way to perfect the agreement, to reduce the deputies to three, and that both parts should choose two lawyers, and one divine; Eckius, for the Catholics, and Melancthon for the Lutherans. The points, which still remained under debate were chiefly the Mass, Vows, and Celibacy of Priests. The Catholics were ready enough to consent, that the priests, that were married, might live with their wives, but they could not relax in the business of the mass and vows: Melancthon who was very much inclined to peace, would perhaps have come nearer if he had been master; but the rigid Protestants, who were dissatisfied with his condescension already, forbad him to advance any farther,* and so they could not come to an

* In the dispute about ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the power of Bishops, Melancthon gave way more than many of his own party, especially the Free Cities would have had him: but it appears from Seckendorff's account of this matter, when he gives us the history of this Diet at Augsburg, that in the doctrinal points wherein the Protes-

accommodation; and the Protestant princes departed home in October. Before they went they presented an apology for their confession to the Emperor, drawn up by Melancthon, but his Imperial Majesty would not receive it; however it was published the next year. This is all that passed between the Catholics and Lutherans at Augsburg.

From this sketch of the history connected with the Confession of Augsburg, it will be seen that the Lutheran reformers, up to that time, had no idea of forming a separate communion, but sought only for a reformation conducted by the Church itself. In no sense, therefore, should the Confession be looked upon as the production of sectarians, but rather as issuing from those, who, though treated with great severity, were still anxious to be considered members of the Church unto which they had been baptized. This will be further evident from the Preface to the Confession itself. The same spirit prevailed for a long time afterwards; and even in 1551 they sent their ambassadors and theologians to the Council of Trent, which refused to hear them. All these things prove as Mr. Palmer observes, that the Lutherans did not voluntarily

tants opposed Popery, Melancthon was not to be moved in the least. Nay, Luther himself in his Admonition to the Princes of the Empire, at that time printed, granted that the power of the Bishops of the empire, both civil and ecclesiastical, might be well allowed, if they would employ it to the glory of God; not supposing that that would any ways advance the Pope's supremacy.

separate from the Church, and that at all events, for a *long time*, they desired to be reunited to its full communion. But these facts prove something more. They shew that dissent in England has no sanction from the conduct of the Lutherans, since, had the Church in Germany been reformed in the same way as the Church was in England, the Lutherans would have gladly remained in her communion.

A

CONFESSION OF FAITH

PRESENTED

TO THE MOST INVINCIBLE EMPEROR CHARLES V,

AT

THE DIET OF AUGSBURG,

IN THE YEAR MDXXX.

PRINTED AT WITTEMBURG: 1531.

Psalm CXIX.

"I will speak of thy testimonies also before kings, and will not be ashamed."

[It may be well to observe that there is another edition of the Augsburg Confession, which was presented by Melancthon, at the Diet of Worms, in 1540, and printed at Wittemburg in the same year. This, however, differs in some respects from the document presented at Augsburg, and therefore should not be confounded with the Confession of Faith professed by the Lutherans at that Diet:—a fact the more necessary to be borne in mind, because in the *Sylloge Confessionum*, printed at Oxford in 1804, the latter Confession only is inserted. This rather unaccountable omission, has led Mr. Scott in his Continuation of Milner's Church History, and other writers, into error. The following translation is made from the original document, as it appears in the last edition of the *Sylloge Confessionum*, 1827.]

A CONFESSION,

&c.

PREFACE TO THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

This preface having been already anticipated by what has been said in the previous introduction, it will be unnecessary to give more than an abstract of its contents.

The subscribers to the Confession commence their preface by noticing the objects for which the Diet had been summoned, viz., about taking effectual measures to resent the aggression of the Turk, then, as heretofore, the enemy of Christianity;—and afterwards to consult about the religious dissensions, in order that the different opinions of the parties might be heard and weighed

CHIEF ARTICLES OF FAITH.

I. OF GOD.

The Churches among us with general consent teach, that the decree of the Council of Nice concerning the unity of the Divine Essence and concerning the three persons is true, and to be, without any doubt, believed. To wit: that there is one Divine Essence, which is called and is God, eternal, without body, without parts, infinite in power, wisdom, goodness, the Creator and Preserver of all things visible and invisible; and yet there are three persons who are of the same essence and power, and are co-eternal, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. And they use the term person in the same sense in which ecclesiastical writers on this subject use it—to signify not a part or quality in another, but that which subsists of itself.

They condemn all heresies which have sprung up against this article, such as that of the Manichees, who maintained two principles, good and evil. Likewise the Valentinians, Arians, Eunomians, Mahometans, and all like them. They

condemn also the Samosatenians, the elder and later ones, who, while they contend that there is only one person, subtilely and impiously rhetoricate concerning the Word and the Holy Spirit, that they are not distinct persons, but that the Word signifies the vocal word, and the Spirit the motion created in things.

II. OF ORIGINAL SIN.

The Churches among us also teach, that since the fall of Adam, all men engendered according to nature are born with Sin; that is, without the fear of God, without faith towards God, and with concupiscence; and that this disease or original depravity is truly sin,* condemning and still causing eternal death to those who are not born again by Baptism and the Holy Spirit. [Renascuntur per Baptismum et Spiritum Sanctum.]

They condemn the Pelagians and others who deny that original depravity is sin; and who, that they may diminish the glory of the merit and benefits of Christ, allege that man by his own strength as a rational agent, may be justified before God.

III. OF THE SON OF GOD.

They also teach that the Word, that is, the Son of God, assumed human nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary, so that there are two natures, divine and human, inseparably conjoined in unity of person—† one Christ, truly God and truly Man, born of the Virgin Mary, who truly

* Verè sit peccatum. This is stronger than our ninth Article, which declares that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the *nature* of Sin, (peccati rationem).

† The greater part of this article is transferred to the second of our own articles.

suffered, was crucified, dead and buried, that he might reconcile the Father to us, and be a Sacrifice not only for original guilt, but also for all the actual sins of men. The same Christ also descended into hell [ad inferos], and truly rose again the third day, afterwards He ascended into Heaven, to sit at the right hand of the Father, perpetually to reign and rule over all creatures, to sanctify those believing in him; having sent his Holy Spirit into their hearts that it may govern, console, quicken, and defend them against the Devil and the power of Sin. The same Christ is about to come again openly to judge the quick and the dead, &c., according to the Apostles' Creed.

IV. OF JUSTIFICATION.

They also teach, that men cannot be justified before God by their own strength, merits, or works, but that they are justified freely for Christ's sake, through faith, when they believe that they are received into favour,* and that sins are remitted on account of Christ, who by His own death made satisfaction for our sins. This faith God imputes for righteousness before Him. Rom. iii. and iv.

V. OF THE MINISTRATION OF THE CHURCH.

In order that we may obtain this faith, the office of

* "It was the common doctrine of the Lutherans, maintained even by Melancthon himself that the faith which justifies is an assured persuasion of our *personal* forgiveness and favour. Calvin also adopted this opinion; and the notion of justification by a special faith, or a persuasion of our own personal forgiveness and acceptance, is a leading doctrine of Whitfield, Wesley, and all the methodistical sects. Dr. S. Ward treats the doctrine of justification by a *special* faith, as a Lutheran error."—Bp. Bethell's "*General View of the Doctrine of Regeneration in Baptism*," p. 162, note. See Bossuet's *Variations of the Protestant Churches, book* 1, c. 7—18.

teaching the Gospel and administering the sacraments has been instituted. For by the Word and Sacraments, as if by instruments, [tanquam per instrumenta] the Holy Spirit is given, who produces faith, where and when God has seen fit, in those who hearken to the Gospel; to wit, that God, not on account of our own merits, but on account of Christ, justifies those who believe that they are received into favour for Christ's sake.

They condemn the Anabaptists and others, who think that the Holy Spirit is received by men, without the external Word, by means of their own preparations and works.

VI. OF NEW OBEDIENCE.

They also teach, that this faith must bring forth good fruits, and that it behoves us to do good works commanded by God, on account of the will of God, not that we may expect by those works to merit justification before Him. For remission of sins and justification is obtained by faith, as the word of Christ also testifies: *When ye shall have done all these things say, we are unprofitable servants.* The same thing also the old writers of the Church teach: for Ambrose says, This has been ordained by God, that he who believes in Christ is saved, without works, through faith alone, freely receiving remission of sins.

VII. OF THE CHURCH.

They also teach, that there will always be one Holy Church. That the Church is a congregation of saints, in which the Gospel is rightly taught, and the Sacraments rightly administered. And for the true unity of the Church, it is sufficient to agree concerning the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments. Nor is it necessary that human traditions, or rules or ceremonies instituted

by men, be every where alike. As Paul says: "One Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of all, &c."*

VIII. WHAT THE CHURCH IS.

Although the Church is properly a congregation of saints and true believers, yet since in this world many hypocrites and evil men are mingled with them, we may use the Sacraments which are administered by evil men, according to the saying of Christ: *The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat, &c.* Both the Sacraments and the Word are efficacious on account of the ordination and command of Christ, although they be administered by evil men.

They condemn the Donatists and such like, who denied that it is lawful to use the ministry of evil men in the Church, and thought the ministry of such to be useless and without efficacy.

IX. OF BAPTISM.

Concerning Baptism they teach, that it is necessary to salvation, (necessarius ad salutem,) and that by Baptism the Grace of God is conferred. And that children are to be baptized, who, being offered to God by Baptism, are received into His favour.

They condemn the Anabaptists who disallow the Baptism of children, and affirm that children without Baptism may be saved.

X. OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

Concerning the Supper of the Lord they teach, that the Body and Blood of Christ are really (verè) present, and are

* The reader will observe that this text is only quoted in part. The Apostle declares that there is "*one body*," as well as "one faith," &c.—Ephes. iv, 1.

distributed to those who eat in the Supper of the Lord; and they disapprove of those who teach otherwise.

XI. OF CONFESSION.

Of Confession they teach, that private absolution* ought to be retained in all the Churches, although in confession an enumeration of every transgression is not necessary. For that according to the Psalm is impossible: *Who can understand his errors?*

XII. OF REPENTANCE.

Of Repentance they teach, that to the lapsed after Baptism, remission of sins may take place at any time, when they are converted. And that to such persons turning again to repentance, the Church ought to give absolution.

It is agreed that repentance properly consists of these two parts,—one is contrition or a terror-stricken conscience on account of acknowledged sin; the other is faith, which is produced by the gospel or by absolution, and believes that, for Christ's sake, sins are remitted, which tranquillizes the conscience and frees it from fear. Then good works ought to follow which are the fruits of repentance.

* In our Communion Service and the Visitation of the Sick, there are injunctions relating to private absolution. "Here," to quote a rubric from the visitation of the sick, "shall the sick person be moved to make a special confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter, after which confession, the Priest shall *absolve* him." Whenever the minister giveth warning for the Holy Communion, he is ordered to admonish the people, "If there be any of you who by this means cannot quit his own conscience herein, but requireth further comfort or counsel, let him come to me.....and open his grief; that by the ministry of God's Holy Word, he may receive the benefit of *absolution*."—See also Canon 113, A.D., 1603.

They condemn the Anabaptists who deny that those who have once been justified can lose the Holy Spirit. Also those who contend that so great perfection may be attained by some in this life that they are unable to sin. The Novatians also are condemned who refused to absolve those, being penitent, who had lapsed after baptism.

Those also are rejected who do not teach that remission of sins is obtained through faith, but enjoin us to merit grace by our satisfactions.*

XIII. OF THE USE OF THE SACRAMENTS.

Of the use of the Sacraments they teach, that Sacraments have been instituted not only to be marks of profession among men, but rather to be signs and witnesses (testimonia) of God's good will towards us, designed to quicken (excitandam) and confirm faith in those who use them. Therefore we must so use the Sacraments that faith, which believes the promises exhibited and shewn by the Sacraments, may accompany them.

They therefore condemn those who teach that Sacraments justify, *ex opere operato*, and do not teach faith which believes sins to be remitted, to be necessary in the use of Sacraments.

* The Romanists believe that after sin has been remitted, as far as regards its guilt and eternal penalties, by the merits of Christ's sacrifice applied in the Sacrament of Penance, a temporal penalty still remains due to the justice of an offended God; and that this wrath and anger of avenging justice may be *appeased*, and sin expiated and atoned for as regards its temporal penalty, by *satisfaction*, that is, penitential works, such as prayer, alms-giving, fasting, mortification, &c.—See Mr. Palmer's third Letter to Wiseman on the Romish doctrine of Satisfaction. p. 4.

XIV. OF THE ORDER OF THE CHURCH.

Of the Order of the Church they teach, that no man ought to teach publicly in the Church, or to administer the Sacraments, unless rightly called.

XV. OF THE RITES OF THE CHURCH.

Of the Rites of the Church they teach, that those rites are to be observed which can be observed without sin, and which tend to tranquillity and good order in the Church, such as certain holy-days, festivals, and the like.

Yet concerning such things men are admonished, that they do not allow their consciences to be burthened, as though such service was necessary to salvation.

They are also admonished, that human traditions instituted to appease God, to merit favour, and to make satisfaction for sins, are opposed to the Gospel and the doctrine of faith. Wherefore vows and traditions about meats and days, &c., instituted to merit grace, and to make satisfaction for sins, are useless and contrary to the Gospel.

XVI. OF CIVIL AFFAIRS.

Of Civil Affairs they teach, that legitimate civil enactments are good works of God; that Christians may hold magisterial offices, pronounce judgments, decide cases according to the imperial and other existing laws, inflict just punishments, make just war, may serve in wars, make contracts according to law, hold property, make oath at the request of the magistrates, marry, be given in marriage.

They condemn the Anabaptists who interdict these civil offices to Christians. They condemn those also who make evangelical perfection to consist, not in the fear of God and in faith, but in the abandoning of civil functions, because the Gospel teaches perpetual righteousness of the heart. Mean-

while, it does not dissolve the ties of civil or domestic economy, but strongly enjoins us to maintain them as the ordinances of God, and in such ordinances to exercise charity. Hence Christians must necessarily obey their own magistrates and laws: except when they command what is sinful, for then they must rather obey God than men. Acts v.

XVII. OF CHRIST'S RETURN TO JUDGMENT.

They also teach that Christ will appear at the end of the world to judge, and he will raise up all the dead; to the pious and elect he will give eternal life and endless joys, but will condemn wicked men and devils, that they may be tormented without end.

They condemn the Anabaptists who think that to the damned and devils there shall be an end of punishment. They condemn also others who now spread the Jewish notions that before the resurrection of the dead, the pious are about to possess the kingdom of the world, the impious being every where oppressed.

XVIII. OF FREE WILL.

Of Free Will they teach, that the human will has some liberty to accomplish civil justice, and to choose the things which are under the control of reason. But it has not strength, without the Holy Spirit, for accomplishing the righteousness of God, or spiritual justice, because the natural man does not perceive those things which are of the Spirit of God; but this is accomplished in the heart, when through the word the Holy Spirit is received. These things in so many words Augustine says, Book iii, Hypognosticon. We confess that the will is free to all men, having indeed the judgment of reason, not in that it is sufficient in those things which pertain to God, either to begin or accomplish any thing

without God, but only in things pertaining to the present life, good as well as evil; by good I mean whatever arises from the good of nature, that is, to wish to labour in the field, to wish to eat and drink, to wish to have a friend, to wish to have clothes, to wish to build a house, to wish to marry, to pasture cattle, to learn the art of divers useful things, or to wish whatever good pertains to this present life. All which things do not subsist without divine guidance, yea, from God Himself and by Him they are and took their beginning. But by evil things I mean such as these, the propensity to idolatry, to murder and the like.

They condemn the Pelagians and others who teach that without the Holy Spirit, by the mere strength of nature we are able to love God above all things; also to do the commands of God, as far as the substance of the acts. For although nature may be able to do external works in a certain manner,—for it is able to keep the hand from theft, from murder,—yet it is unable to accomplish the inward motives, as the fear of God, confidence towards God, chastity, patience, &c.

XIX. OF THE CAUSE OF SIN.

Of the origin of sin they teach, that although God creates and preserves nature, yet the cause of sin is the will of the wicked, to wit, of the devil and impious men, which will God not assisting, turns itself from Him as Christ says (John viii). When he speaketh a lie he speaketh of his own.

XX. OF GOOD WORKS.

Falsely are our teachers accused of prohibiting good works. For their writings, which are published on the ten commandments, and others on similar subjects testify, that they wholesomely have taught concerning all the modes

and duties of life, what ways of life, what works in any particular calling, are pleasing to God. Of which matters preachers formerly taught too little, only urged puerile and unnecessary works, such as certain holy days, certain fasts, fraternities, pilgrimages, worship of saints, rosaries, monasticism, and the like. These things, our adversaries having taken the hint, now unlearn, nor do they so preach these useless works as they did formerly. Moreover, they begin to mention faith, concerning which there was before a wonderful silence. They teach that we are not justified by works only, but conjoin faith and works, and say that we are justified by faith and works—a doctrine which is more tolerable than the former, and more able to afford consolation than their old doctrine.

Since, therefore, the doctrine of faith, which ought to be chief in the Church, hath lain so long unknown; as all must needs confess, that concerning the righteousness of faith there hath been the most profound silence in their sermons; that the doctrine of works was alone discussed in the churches, our divines, concerning faith, have thus reminded the Churches:—

In the first place, that our works cannot reconcile us to God, or merit remission of sins, grace and justification, but we obtain this by faith only, believing that we are received into favour for Christ's sake, who is alone ordained our Mediator and propitiation, through whom the Father is reconciled. Whoever, therefore, hopes to merit grace by works, despises the merit and grace of Christ, and seeks without Christ, by human strength, a way to God, when Christ has said concerning himself: *I am the way, the truth, and the life.*

This doctrine of faith is every where treated of in the writings of Paul (Eph. ii.): *By grace ye are saved through*

faith, and this not of yourselves, it is the gift of God, not of works, &c.

And lest any one should object that a new interpretation of Paul has been invented by us, this whole matter has the testimony of the Fathers.* For Augustine, in many works, defends grace and the righteousness of faith against the merit of works. And Ambrose teaches the like doctrine *On the calling of the Gentiles,* and elsewhere. For thus he speaks of the calling of the Gentiles: The redemption of the Blood of Christ would become of none effect, nor would the prerogative of human works submit to the mercy of God, if justification, which is by grace, should be made due to preceding merits, so that it should not be the gift of one who bestows, but the wages of one who works.

But although this doctrine is despised by the ignorant, pious and fearful consciences find it to bring much of consolation, because consciences cannot be rendered tranquil by any works, but by faith only, when they are assured, that for Christ's sake they have God reconciled. As Paul teaches, (Romans v.), *Being justified by faith, we have peace with God.* This entire doctrine is to be referred to that conflict of the terrified conscience, nor without that conflict can it be understood. Hence unskilful and profane men judge wrongly concerning the matter, who vainly imagine that Christian righteousness is nothing more than civil and moral righteousness.

Formerly consciences were harassed by the doctrine of works, and did not hear the consolation of the Gospel. Conscience drove some into the desert, into monasteries, hoping that they should there merit grace by a monastic life—others invented different kinds of works to merit grace,

* Like the English Church, the Lutherans knew the value of the testimony of the Fathers, and were anxious to repel the charge of novelty.

and to make satisfaction for sins. So that exceeding great was the necessity to discuss afresh this doctrine concerning faith in Christ, that consolation should not fail timid consciences; but they should know that by faith in Christ, grace and remission of sins, and justification are obtained.

Men also are reminded that this term *faith* does not only signify an historical knowledge, such as there is in impious men and the devil, but a faith which believes not only the facts of history, but also the consequence of those facts, to wit, this article, remission of sins; that through Christ we have grace, righteousness, and forgiveness.

Now he who knows that he has, through Christ, a reconciled Father, truly knows God, knows that he is under His care, calls upon Him—in a word, he is not without God, as the Gentiles are. For devils and bad men are not able to believe this article, the remission of sins. So they hate God as if he were an enemy,—they do not call upon Him, they expect nothing of good from Him. Augustine also concerning the word *faith*, admonishes the reader in this manner, and teaches, that the word *faith* is used in Scripture, not for *knowledge*, such as there is in wicked men, but for confidence, which consoles and comforts alarmed minds.

Besides, our divines teach, that it is necessary to do good works, not that we may trust by them to merit grace, but in obedience to the will of God. By faith only, remission of sins and grace are obtained. And because the Holy Spirit is received by faith, the heart is thus renovated and endued with new affections, that it may be able to bring forth good works. For thus Ambrose saith: Faith is the parent of a good will and of just action. For the faculties of man without the assistance of the Holy Spirit, are full of unholy affections, and too weak to be able to do good works before God. Besides,

they are under the influence of the devil, who impels men to various sins, to wicked thoughts, to open crimes. As may be seen in the philosophers, who, although they themselves endeavoured to live purely, could not do it, but were polluted by many manifest crimes. Such is the weakness of man, when he is without faith and without the Holy Spirit, and only governs himself by his own strength.

Hence, it is clear that this doctrine is not to be accused of prohibiting good works, but is rather to be praised, as shewing how we may perform good works. For without faith, the nature of man is by no means able to do the works of the first or second commandment. Without faith he does not call upon God, expects nothing from Him, he does not bear the cross, but seeks and trusts in human aid. Hence all lusts and human counsels reign in the heart, when faith and trust towards God are wanting. Wherefore, also Christ hath said: *Without me ye can do nothing* (John xv). And the Church responds: Without thy aid nothing is strong, nothing is holy in man.

XXI. OF THE WORSHIP OF SAINTS.

Of the Worship of Saints the Churches among us teach, that the remembrance of saints may be inculcated, in order that we may imitate their faith and good works in our vocation; as the Emperor can imitate the example of David in carrying on war, to drive away the Turks from our country. For either is a king. But Scripture does not teach us to invoke saints, or to seek help from saints. Because it proposes to us Christ alone as a mediator, propitiation, high-priest, and intercessor. He is to be invoked, and has promised that He will hear our prayers, and highly approves of this worship, to wit, that he should be invoked in all afflictions (1 John ii): *If any man sin, we have an advocate with God, &c.*

This is the substance of the doctrine among us, in which it may be discerned that there is nothing which varies from the scriptures, or from the Church Catholic, or from the Church of Rome, as far as it is known to us by their writers.* Such being the fact, they judge harshly who demand that our divines should be considered heretics: for the dispute is concerning certain abuses, which, without any definite authority, have crept into the churches, on which matters, even if an open difference had arisen, yet the lenity of toleration would rather have beseemed the Bishops, on account of the Confession which now we have rehearsed, since not even the canons are so rigid, as to require rites to be every where the same; nor have the rites of all Churches ever been alike. Albeit, among us the ancient rites are for the most part studiously retained. For it is a slanderous charge (falsa calumnia est) that all ceremonies, all ancient customs are abolished in our churches. The fact is, there was a general complaint, that some abuses attached to the common forms of worship. These, therefore, because they

* This is so strong a passage, that I think it right to subjoin the original. "Hæc fere summa est doctrinæ apud nos, in qua cerni potest, nihil inesse, quod discrepet a scripturis, vel ab ecclesia Catholica, *vel ab ecclesia Romana, quatenus ex scriptoribus nota est.*" Perhaps the well known passage in the thirtieth Canon (1603,) is intended to express something of the same meaning: "Nay, so far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the churches of *Italy*, France, Spain, Germany, or any such like churches, in all things which they held and practised, that, as the Apology of the Church of England confesseth, it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies which doth neither endanger the Church of God, nor offend the minds of sober men; and only departed from them in those particular points, wherein they were fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from their first founders." Yet it must be admitted that the passage in the Confession is much stronger than our own.

could not conscientiously be approved, have been in part corrected.

[The conclusion of this portion of the Confession affords valuable testimony to the fact endeavoured to be developed in the previous introduction, viz. that at this period the Lutherans had no design of breaking the unity of the Church by setting up an independent system of their own. This is further evident from a letter written at the same time by Melancthon, the author it will be remembered of the Confession, to Cardinal Campegio, the Pope's Legate in the Diet of Augsburg. In this letter Melancthon informs the Legate, "That he and his party were ready to receive peace on any terms; that they had no dogmas which differed from the Church of Rome; and that, if they disputed with her, it was only in some articles, which might more properly be referred to the schools: that the Reformers had repressed those who sought to spread pernicious doctrines; that they were ready to obey the Church of Rome, on condition that she would treat them with that clemency which she uniformly shewed to all, and connive or relax in some points of little importance, which it was no longer in the power of Protestants to alter; that they honoured, with profound respect, the authority of the Roman Pontiff, and all the ecclesiastical hierarchy; that all the favour they asked of them was, that the Pope would have the goodness not to reject them: that nothing had made them so odious in Germany, as the constancy with which they defended the doctrines of the Church of Rome; and finally, that with the grace of God, they would remain faithful to the last breath, to Jesus Christ, and to the Church of Rome."—*Beausobre's History of the Reformation, Book VIII.*

Harsh indeed was the judgement which considered as

heretics, and excommunicated men professing sentiments like these, for though some are unorthodox, none are heretical. The conduct of the Romish Church, on this occasion, may serve to convince those who, on the ground of mutual concession, would seek admission within her pale, how vain is the hope that she should concede any thing. And surely while the creed of Pope Pius IV. is among her accredited symbols, no man would willingly peril his salvation by confessing his belief in the blasphemy therein contained. But this creed, as is well known, was not imposed till more than thirty years after the Diet of Augsburg, (1564.)]

ARTICLES IN WHICH THE REFORMED ABUSES ARE ENUMERATED.

Since the Churches among us dissent in no article of Faith from the Church Catholic, but only omit some few abuses which are new, and received by the corruption of the times against the intention of the canons, we entreat your Imperial Majesty graciously to hear, both what has been changed, and what are the reasons why the people should not be constrained to observe those abuses against their conscience. Nor let your Imperial Majesty give ear to those who, in order to inflame the hatred of men against us, propagate strange calumnies among the people. By thus irritating the minds of good men against us, they occasioned this division at the first, and by the same

artifice, they endeavour now to widen the breach. For your Imperial Majesty without doubt will find among us, a form of doctrine and ceremonies more tolerable than such as those wicked and ill-disposed men represent it. Besides, truth cannot be gathered from common report, or the accusation of enemies. But this at least will readily be allowed, that nothing tends more to preserve the dignity of the ritual and to cherish reverence and piety among the people, than that its ceremonies should be duly solemnized in the churches.

I. OF BOTH KINDS.

To the laity, both kinds of the Sacrament are given in the Supper of the Lord, because this custom has the command of the Lord. Matt. xxvi. *Drink ye all of this.* Where Christ obviously enjoined concerning the cup, that all drink of it; and that no one might be able to object that this pertains only to the priests, (*sacerdotes,*) Paul writing to the Corinthians, records an instance in which it is evident that the whole church used both kinds. And for a long period this custom remained in the Church; nor is it agreed when, or by whom it was changed, though Cardinal Cusans mentions when it was approved. Cyprian witnesses in several passages, that the Blood (sanguinem) was given to the laity. Similar testimony is also borne by Jerome, who says, the priests (Sacerdotes) administer the Eucharist,* and distribute the Blood of Christ, among the people. Nay, Pope Gelasius commanded that the Sacrament should not be divided, (Dist. ii, cap. Comperimus.) It is only a custom comparatively modern which has it otherwise. Yet it is certain that an usage introduced against the commands of God, is not to be approved, as the canons witness, (Dist.

* *Sacramentum Eucharistiæ* occurs in our 28th Art.

viii chap.—Veritate cum seq:) But this custom was received not only against Scripture, but also against the ancient canons and the practice of the Church. Wherefore if any wished rather to receive the Sacrament in both kinds, they should not have been compelled to do otherwise with offence of conscience.

And because the division of the Sacrament does not agree with the institution of Christ, the customary procession [of the Host] is wont to be omitted among us.

II. OF THE MARRIAGE OF PRIESTS.*

There has been a general complaint concerning the bad example of the priests who were incontinent, on which account Pope Pius even is said to have declared, that there might be certain causes why marriage should be taken away from the priests, but there were many more why it should be restored. So also Platina writes: Since, therefore, the priests (Sacerdotes) among us would avoid these public scandals, they have married wives and have taught, that it is lawful for them to marry. First, because Paul says, *Let every man have his own wife, on account of fornication.* Again, *it is better to marry than to burn.* Secondly, Christ saith: *All cannot receive this word:* where He teaches, that all men are not capable of living in a state of celibacy, because God created man for procreation. (Gen. 1). Nor is it in power of man, without the special grace and operation of God, to change the law of his creation; therefore, they who are incapable of celibacy ought to marry. For no human law, no vow can do away with the command and ordinance of God. Hence, the priests teach that it is lawful for them to have wives. It is certain too, that in the ancient Church the

* De Conjugio *Sacerdotum*—the same heading as our thirty second article.

priests were married: for even Paul says, let a bishop be chosen, who is married. And in Germany it is only four hundred years ago, since the priests were first forced into celibacy, who indeed were so opposed to it, that the Archbishop of Mayence being about to publish the edict of the Roman Pontiff concerning the matter, was nearly killed in the commotion raised by the enraged priests. And the affair was so arbitarily conducted, that not only for the future were marriages prohibited, but even those already contracted, were, against all laws divine and human, against even the very canons enacted not only by the Popes, but by the most famous synods, annulled.

And since as the world grows older, so man's nature becomes by degrees more infirm, it is well to take care, lest more vices creep into Germany. Moreover, God has instituted matrimony, that it may be a remedy against human infirmity. The canons themselves also are of opinion that the former rigour should occasionally, in subsequent times, be relaxed on account of the weakness of men, which it is to be wished might be done in this matter. Indeed, it seems likely that pastors will sometime be found wanting in the churches if marriage be longer prohibited.

Since therefore the command of God is plain, since the custom of the Church is known, since impure celibacy produces many scandals, adulteries, and other crimes worthy the reprehension of a good magistracy, it is wonderful that in nothing is greater severity practised, than against the marriage of priests. God has commanded marriage to be held in honour. The laws in all well constituted governments, even among the heathens have adorned it with the highest honours. But now men are made to suffer capital punishments, and priests indeed against the intention of canons, for no other cause, except on account of marriage. Paul calls that the

doctrine of devils which prohibits marriage. (1 Tim. iv.). This can now be easily understood, when the prohibition of marriage is enforced by such punishments.

Yet as no human law, so no vow can do away with the command of God. Therefore even Cyprian advises, that women should marry who do not keep their vow of chastity. His words are these (Book I, ep. 11): If they are unwilling or unable to persevere, it is better that they should marry, than that they burn with cherished lust: [They may not be able to contain,] but at any rate let them not place stumbling blocks for their brethren and sisters.* And the canons themselves use some lenity towards those who have vowed before mature age, as the practice has generally been up to this day.

III. OF THE MASS.†

Our churches are falsely accused with abolishing the mass, for the mass is retained among us, and celebrated with the highest reverence. Almost all the usual ceremonies also are preserved, except that in some places the German

* This passage occurs in the sixty-second of S. Cyprian's Epistles. Ed. Antv. 1589. See also Bingham, b. vii, c. iv.

† In our first reformed "Order of the Communion," the word Mass was retained in reference to the Lord's Supper. Thus one of the rubrics: "after that the Priest himself.....without the varying any other rule or ceremony in the Mass." "The name Mass, in Latin *Missa* originally signified nothing more than the dismission of a Church assembly. By degrees it came to be used for an assembly, and for Church service: so easily do words shift their sense and adopt new ideas. From signifying Church service in general, it came at length to denote the Communion service in particular, and so that Mass came emphatically to be called the Mass. St. Ambrose is reasonably supposed to be the earliest writer now extant who mentions Mass in that emphatic sense."—*Waterland on the Eucharist*, vol. vii, p. 43.

are mingled with the Latin hymns, which have been added for the sake of teaching the people. For to this purpose only is there need of ceremonies, to teach the unlearned. And not only Paul commands that a tongue understood by the people be used in the Church, but it is even so constituted by the law of man.

The people are accustomed to partake of the Sacrament together, whosoever are fit; and this increases the reverence and sacredness of the public ceremonial. For none are admitted, except they have been before examined. Men also are admonished of the dignity and use of the Sacrament, what great consolation it gives to fearful consciences, in order that they may learn to believe in God, and to expect and seek all good things from Him. This reverence pleases God, such a use of the Sacrament fosters piety towards Him. Hence, masses do not appear to be celebrated with more reverence among our adversaries than among us.

Indeed, it is certain that this also has long been the general, and, of all good men, by far the heaviest complaint, that Masses have been shamefully prophaned, by being used as a source of gain. Nor is it unknown, how widely this abuse is extended in all temples, by what kind of persons Masses are solemnized, how many celebrate them merely for reward or hire, against the prohibition of the canons. Yet Paul heavily threatens those who treat the Eucharist unworthily when he says: *Whoever shall eat this bread, or drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord.* Therefore, when our priests recalled this sin to mind, private masses ceased among us, since hardly any private masses were used to be celebrated except for the sake of gain.

Nor were these abuses unknown to the Bishops, who, if they had corrected them in time, there would now have been

less of dissension. Before, by their own dissimulation, they suffered many vices to creep into the Church. It is too late now to begin complaining about the calamities of the Church, when this tumult has not arisen from any other source than from those abuses which were so manifest that they could be no longer endured. Much discord arose upon the subject of the mass and sacrament. It may be the world is now receiving the punishment due to so long a profanation of masses, which they who could and ought to have amended, tolerated for so many ages in the Churches. For in the Decalogue it is written: *Whoever misuses the Name of God, shall not be unpunished.* And since the world began, it would seem that nothing pertaining to God, has at any time been so turned to gain as the Mass.

An opinion prevailed which increased private masses, *in infinitum*, viz., that Christ by His own passion made satisfaction for original sin, and instituted the mass, in which an oblation might be offered for actual sins, mortal and venial. Hence the notion obtained, that the mass was a work blotting out the sins of the living and the dead, *ex opere operato*. Then the question arose, whether one mass said for many availed as much, as if for each individual a separate mass were used. This disputation produced the endless number of masses.

Concerning these opinions our teachers shewed, that they are opposed to Holy Scripture, and mar the glory of Christ's sufferings: for that the passion of Christ was an oblation and satisfaction, not only for original guilt, but also for all other sins, as it is written to the Hebrews: *We were sanctified by the oblation of Jesus Christ once for all.* And again, *By one oblation He hath perfected for ever the sanctified.*

Also the Scripture teaches that *we are justified before God*

by faith in Christ, when we believe that sins are remitted to us for Christ's sake. Now if masses blot out the sins of the living and the dead, *ex opere operato*, Justification is the work of masses, not of faith, which Scripture does not allow.

But Christ commands us to do it in remembrance of Him. Hence mass was instituted that the faith of those who use the Sacraments may be put in mind of the benefits it receives by Christ, and may comfort and console the affrighted conscience. For to remember Christ is to remember His benefits, and to feel that they are truly exhibited to us. Nor is it sufficient to remember the history, for even Jews and wicked persons are able to do this. Mass therefore is to be administered for this end, that the Sacrament may be extended to those who need consolation, as St. Ambrose says, because I am always sinning, I require always to be taking the medicine of sin.

Since then mass is such a communication of the Sacrament, one common mass is kept among us on every Feast-day, and also on other days,* if any should meet to receive the Sacrament, it is administered to them. Nor is this custom new in the Church. For the ancients before Gregory make no mention of private mass; while concerning common mass they are very diffuse, and say a great deal. Chrysostom says; that the priest stands daily at the altar,† *(ad altare)* and some he calls to communion, others he repels. And from the ancient canon it appears, that some one of the priests celebrated mass, from whom the other priests and deacons took the body of the Lord, *(corpus Domini.)* For so the words of the canon of Nice signify: Let the deacons, in

* Bishop Beveridge has shewn that the Church of England intends a daily celebration of the Eucharist.

† The Communion table may be called an altar by us "in that sense in which the Primitive Church called it an altar."—Canon VII. 1640.

order, after the priests receive the holy communion from a bishop or priest. And Paul commands concerning communion, that one should wait for another that there may be a common participation.

Forasmuch, then as the mass among us, has the example of the Church as it is known from Scripture and the Fathers, we are confident that it cannot be disapproved, especially since its public ceremonial is for the most part like that which is commonly used, the number of masses only being unlike, which, on account of the very great and notorious abuses connected with them, it were profitable at least to moderate. For formerly, even in Churches the most frequented, mass was not administered daily, as the Tripartite history (Book ix, c. 38,) witnesses. Again, even in Alexandria, the Scriptures are read on Wednesday and Friday, while the teachers expound, and all things are duly solemnized except the solemn ordinance of the oblation (oblationis).

IV. OF CONFESSION.

Confession is not abolished in our Churches. For the Body of the Lord is not wont to be handed except to those who have been previously examined and absolved.* (nisi antea exploratis et absolutis.) And the people are instructed most carefully concerning the faith of absolution, of which before these times there was great silence. Men are taught to esteem absolution of very great value, because it is the voice of God, (vox Dei,) and pronounced by His command. The power of the keys is extolled, and it is proclaimed how great consolation it brings to affrighted consciences; and that God requires faith, that we trust

* See our own Exhortation to the Holy Communion, as quoted before.

to that absolution as if it were a voice sounding from heaven, [illi absolutioni tanquam voci de cœlo sonanti credamus]; and that such faith in Christ truly procures and receives remission of sins.* Before, satisfactions were immoderately extolled, while of faith and the merit of Christ, and of the righteousness of faith no mention was made; wherefore, on this point our Churches are least of all to be blamed. For even our adversaries are compelled to grant this to us, that the doctrine of repentance has been most accurately handled and explained by our Divines.

But concerning confession they teach, that an enumeration of sins is not necessary, nor are the consciences to be burthened with the labour of recounting every trespass, because it is impossible to declare all our delinquencies, as the Psalmist testifies: *Who can understand his errors.* Also Jeremiah: *The heart of man is wicked, and cannot be searched.* Wherefore if no sins except those which are recited should be forgiven, our consciences could never be quieted, for many sins they neither see nor can remember. The ancient writers also testify that an enumeration is not necessary. For in the decretals Chrysostom is cited who thus speaks: I do not bid thee expose thyself publicly, nor accuse thyself before others, but I would have thee to obey the prophet who says: *Declare thy way before God.* Therefore confess thy sins before God, the true judge, with prayer. Pronounce thy sins not with the tongue but with the memory of thy conscience, &c. And the gloss, concerning repentance, (Dist. iv, Confideret) allows that confession is of human institution. But confession, both on account of the very great benefit of absolution, as well as for various other aids of conscience, is retained among us.

* In the Homily of Common Prayer and Sacraments it is said, that "*absolution hath the promise of forgiveness of sins.*"

V. OF DIVERSITY OF MEATS.

It was the general persuasion not only of the vulgar, but even of those who taught in the churches, that diversity of meats, and such like human traditions, were works useful for meriting grace, and making satisfaction for sins. And that the world thought thus appears from the fact of new ceremonies, new orders, new feasts, new fasts, being instituted daily; works which the teachers in the churches required, as service indispensable for deserving grace, and vehemently alarmed the consciences of men if they should omit any thing of the kind. From this persuasion about traditions many inconveniences (multa incommoda) arose in the churches.

In the first place, the doctrine of grace and the righteousness of faith was obscured, which is the principal part of the Gospel, and which should stand out and display itself in the Church before all others, in order that the merit of Christ may be well understood, and the faith which believes that, for Christ's sake, sins are remitted, be placed far above works. Wherefore also Paul chiefly applies himself to this point, and puts aside the law and traditions of men, in order to shew that the Christian righteousness is something different from works of this kind, to wit: faith which believes that sins are freely pardoned for Christ's sake. But this doctrine of Paul was almost entirely destroyed by traditions which disseminated the notion, that by making a distinction between meats, and the like observances grace and righteousness must be merited. In repentance no mention was made of faith; only these works of satisfaction were enjoined, and in them the whole of repentance was thought to consist.

Secondly: these traditions obscured the commandments of God being esteemed far before them; yea, the whole of Christianity was thought to consist in the observance of

certain holy days, rites, fasts, and vestments. These observances were in possession of a most honorable title, that of the spiritual and perfect life. Meanwhile, the commands of God which relate to our callings received no commendation: that a father of a family brought up his children, that the mother bore them; that a king governed his people—these were thought to be worldly and imperfect works, and far inferior to those imposing observances. And this error very much afflicted pious consciences which grieved that they should be held in an imperfect state of life—in matrimony, in the magistracy and other offices; and admired monks and such like persons; falsely supposing that their observances are more pleasing to God.

Thirdly: these traditions were very dangerous to men's consciences, because it was impossible to observe them all, and yet persons considered that they were necessary parts of their duty to God. Gerson* writes that many have fallen into despair, and some have destroyed themselves, because they perceived that they were unable to observe the traditions, while at the same time they heard no consolation from the doctrine of the righteousness of faith and of grace.

We see writers of summaries and theologians compile

* "John Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris, was the most illustrious ornament that this age [cent. xv,] could boast of, a man of the greatest influence and authority; whom the Council of Constance looked upon as its oracle, the lovers of liberty as a patron. This excellent man published a considerable number of treatises that were admirably adapted to reform the corruptions of a superstitious worship, to excite a spirit of genuine piety, and to heal the wounds of a divided Church." Thus far Mosheim (Hist. vol. iii, p. 441) Bossuet attempts to shew, that Gerson complained of no error in doctrine but only in discipline, and that his notion of reformation was very different from Luther's."—*Variations*, &c., Book i, c. 4.

these traditions, and seek equitable interpretations [ἐπιεικείας]* to relieve the conscience; yet they do not after all set it fully at liberty, but sometimes rather entangle and bewilder it the more. And the schools and assemblies were so busy collecting traditions that there was no time to touch Scripture and to seek the more salutary doctrine of faith, of the cross, of hope, of the high importance of those duties which concern the well-being of society, of the consolation of the conscience in its season of trial. Therefore, Gerson and some other divines complained heavily that they were so immersed in disputes about traditions that they could not make themselves acquainted with that better kind of doctrine. And Augustin forbids that the conscience be burthened with observances of this kind, and wisely teaches Januarius to understand that these things are to be observed indifferently: for so he expresses himself.

Hence it ought not to appear as though our divines had meddled with this subject wantonly or from hatred to the Bishops, as some falsely suspect. Great was the necessity for admonishing the Churches concerning these errors (erroribus) which had sprung from traditions misinterpreted. For the gospel requires us to press upon the Churches the doctrine of grace, and the righteousness of faith—truths, however, which cannot be understood if men think that they can merit grace by self-chosen observances.

Thus, therefore, have they taught—that by the observance

* *Epikeia*, is, according to the Romanists, that indulgent and equitable interpretation of a law, by which, against the tenour of its words and meaning, we follow the intention of the lawgiver. For instance, if a law enjoins that in a besieged city, the gates be kept closed, it would be lawful, according to this principle of interpretation, to open the gates for the admission of one who might be serviceable to his fellow citizens. See De Epikeia, Theologia Moralis et Dogmatica Petri Dens, tom. ii, p. 334.

of the traditions of men, we cannot merit grace or be justified, and hence we must not suppose that observances of this kind form a service indispensable.

They add testimonies from the Scriptures. Christ (Matt. xv,) excuses the Apostles who had not kept a customary tradition, though it appeared to be about a matter not unlawful but indifferent, referring to the washing of the law, and says: *In vain they worship me with the commandments of men.* Therefore He does not require useless worship. And shortly afterwards He adds: *Not every thing that goeth into the mouth defileth a man.* Also Rom. xiv: *The kingdom of God is not meat or drink.* Coloss. ii: *Let no man judge you in meat, in drink, in sabbath or festival.* Again: *If ye be dead with Christ, from the rudiments of the world why as if living in the world obey ye ordinances? Touch not, taste not, handle not.* Acts xv, Peter says: *Why tempt ye God imposing a yoke upon the neck of the disciples which neither you nor your fathers have been able to bear, but by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ we hope to be saved even as they.* Here Peter forbids us to burthen the conscience with many rites, Mosaic or others. And Paul, (1 Tim. iv,) calls the prohibition of meats the *doctrine of devils,* because it is at variance with the gospel to institute or perform such works, as if by them we may merit grace, or that Christianity could not exist without such observances.

Here our adversaries object that we prohibit discipline and the mortification of the flesh, as Jovinian* did. But the

* "An Italian monk, who towards the conclusion of the fourth century, taught first at Rome and afterwards at Milan, that all those who kept the vows made to Christ at their baptism, and lived according to the rules of piety and virtue laid down in the gospel, had an equal title to the rewards of futurity; and that consequently those who passed their days in unsocial celibacy, and severe mortifications and fastings

reverse is evident from the writings of our divines. For they have always taught concerning the cross, that Christians ought to endure afflictions. To be exercised with various afflictions, and to be crucified with Christ,—this is the true, sincere and unfeigned mortification.

Moreover they teach, that every Christian ought so to exercise and gain the mastery of himself by regimen of the body or by corporal chastisement and labours, that fulness or sloth do not excite to sin; not that by these exercises we may merit grace or make satisfaction for sins. And this corporal discipline ought always to be observed, not only on a few fixed appointed days; as Christ commands: *Take heed lest your bodies be weighed down by surfeiting.* Again: *this kind of demon is not cast out except by fasting and prayer.* Also Paul says: *I chastise my body and bring it into subjection,* Where he clearly shews that he so chastises his body, not in order by that discipline to merit forgiveness of sins, but that his body may be inclined and prepared for spiritual things, and to do its duty according to his vocation. Hence, fasts themselves are not condemned, but traditions which peril the conscience by prescribing particular days, particular meats, as if works of this kind were a necessary duty.

Most of those traditions, however, are retained among us which conduce to every thing being done orderly in the Churches; such as the prescribed order of the services in the mass and the principal festivals. Meanwhile, men are admonished that such worship does not justify before God and that, in respect of such matters, to neglect them, if it may be done without offence, is not to be considered a sin. This

were in no respect more acceptable to the eye of God, than those who lived virtuously in the bonds of marriage, and nourished their bodies with moderation and temperance."—Mosheim I, 388.

liberty in rites ordained by man was not unknown to the Fathers. For in the East the Paschal feast was observed at a different time from what it was at Rome, and when the Romans on account of this difference accused the Eastern Church of schism, they were reminded that such observances need not be every where alike. And Irenæus says, discord in fasting does not destroy the harmony of the faith. Also in the Tripartite History (book ix) many examples of dissimilar rites are collected and these words are recited: the intention of the Apostles was not to enact regulations about festivals, but to preach good conversation and piety.

VI. OF THE VOWS OF MONKS.

What is taught among us concerning monastic vows, he will best understand who considers what has been the condition of the monasteries, and how the canons were daily transgressed in them. In the time of Augustin these societies were not bound by express regulations: when afterwards discipline became corrupted, vows were every where added, that, as it were by a prison invented for the purpose, its tone might be restored. By degrees many other observances besides vows were annexed. And these burthens were imposed upon many contrary to the canons before the proper age. Many again through ignorance adopted this way of life, who, though further advanced in years, had formed a mistaken estimate of their own strength.

Whoever were thus ensnared were compelled to remain, although some might have been liberated under favour of the canons. And this compulsion was most rigidly adhered to in the monasteries of virgins, towards whom as the weaker sex more lenity should have been shewn. This severity displeased many good men before our times, who saw that mere boys and girls were forced into monasteries to gain a liveli-

hood, observed how mischievous were the results of this system, what scandal it occasioned, what a bondage it imposed upon the conscience. They grieved that the authority of the canons in a matter so very dangerous should be altogether neglected and despised.

To these evils a notion concerning vows was added which is known to have formerly displeased even the monks themselves, at least the more judicious—they taught that vows were equal to Baptism, that by this mode of life they merited remission of sins and justification before God. Nay, they added that the monastic life not only merited righteousness before God, but even more than that, because it kept not only the precepts (precepta) but the counsels (consilia) of the gospel.

Thus they persuaded men that the monastic profession was far better than Baptism; that it was more meritorious than the calling of magistrates, pastors and such like, who according to the commands of God, without any factitious bonds fulfil the duties of their own vocation. None of these things can be denied, for they are extant in their books.

What was afterwards done in monasteries? Formerly they were the schools of sacred literature, and of other studies which are serviceable to the Church; and from thence pastors and Bishops were taken. How different the state of things has since become, is too well known to require mention. Formerly such societies were formed for the purpose of study; nor is it pretended that this way of life was instituted to merit grace and righteousness—nay they style it a state of perfection, and much preferred above all those other modes of life which are ordained by God.

We have thus stated these facts exaggerating nothing maliciously, in order that our own doctrine concerning the matter might be better understood. First, as respects

will and hostility, by being put into action, gets aggravated and strengthened. Who would undertake to say, that the greatest evils Europe has had to mourn over during the last few centuries, would not, humanly speaking, have been averted, if a National Catholicity had prevailed? How, in promoting the highest and best sentiments, would not a blind fanatic rivalry have been prevented? Wisdom, devotedness, disinterestedness, constancy, patriotism, enterprise, all have one common source, and when recognised by all alike as proceeding from duty towards God, and duty towards man, how much cause for jealousy and national antipathy would be removed; while concord and mutual cooperation would occupy their place. To the view of faith and hope, what visions of prosperity are opened out for different countries, in the paths of true scriptural light and scriptural activity! whereas from being either paralyzed or distracted through the want of such an element of order, what disastrous fortunes have not those same countries had to undergo!

The infusion of a religious element in the *literature* of every country must be universally felt and acknowledged as necessary; but how is such an infusion *possible* where the religion is neither truly national nor truly popular? Where there is a recognised standard of abstract truth in a country, judgments concerning men and events are guided by it; periodical literature of every degree, claiming at least to be called respectable, is more or less influenced by it, the conductors knowing they would lose their support if they departed avowedly from it. To *support truth will be found to be*

the strength of a country; in it are contained both the means of self-preservation, and the means of outward security and enlargement.

It has ever been held among civilized nations, that a due intercourse on subjects of natural science is alike pleasing, honourable, and beneficial; yet how little intercourse has been practicable in the *moral* sciences, for want of a system of National Catholicity, which should establish an open ground on the highest and best subjects; these including naturally all inferior ones? Even in the interchange of general literature between countries, how much mistrust would be done away with; one great standing cause of personal estrangement, which serves also to feed national prejudice, would be broken down; and a far wider and more secure reciprocity than now exists or can even be contemplated might, under God's favour, be brought about: these benefits men are now deprived of by the peculiarities of a foreign see, forced upon different countries in lieu of their own primitive Christianity, which, being founded on Scripture, would be found similar in all.

But there are considerations higher still than these, calling upon those who have the government of affairs to attend to the things which pertain to man's eternal interests. When God's judgments are in the earth, it is meant that men should learn righteousness. Alas! were dearth, or earthquakes, or any other dire catastrophe to visit these lands, all the most exalted energies and principles the human character is susceptible of would be required, and would have to come into actual operation; must we so soon allow it

to be received into favour by God for Christ's sake.

It is agreed that the monks have taught that such factitious rites and observances make satisfaction for sins, and merit grace and justification. And what is this but to detract from the glory of Christ, and to obscure and deny the righteousness of faith? It follows then, that these accustomed vows were a wicked service, and that they are, therefore, not binding. For an ungodly vow, and one made against the command of God, is not obligatory; nor, indeed, as the canon saith, ought a vow to be a bond of iniquity.

Paul saith: *Christ hath become of none effect to you, whosoever of you are justified by the law, ye are fallen from grace.* Wherefore they who would be justified by vows are made void of Christ, and are fallen from grace. For they who assign justification to vows, assign that to their own works which properly pertains to Christ's glory. Nor can it be denied that the monks, by vows and their own observances, have taught that they were justified and deserved remission of sins; nay, they have invented absurdities greater even than these, saying that they could borrow their good works from others. These matters, if any one wished maliciously to exaggerate, how much might he collect which would shame the monks themselves! Moreover, they persuade men that these invented obligations constitute the state of Christian perfection. Is not this to attribute justification to works? And is it not a light scandal in the Church to propose to the people a particular system of man's device, without the command of God, and to teach that such service justifies men; since the righteousness of faith which should chiefly be taught in the Church is obscured, while this wonderful angelic service, this pretence of poverty and humility, and celibacy, blind the eyes of men.

Besides, the commandments and the true worship of God

are thrown into the shade, when men hear that monks alone are in a state of perfection; for Christian perfection consists in deeply fearing God, and also in firmly believing and being confident that, for Christ's sake, we have God reconciled to us; in seeking and surely expecting, help from Him in all our undertakings, according to our calling. Meanwhile, externally, we must apply ourselves to do good works, and discharge our ordinary duties. In these particulars, true perfection and the real worship of God consist: not in celibacy, mendicity, or a sordid garment. But the people contract many pernicious notions from these false encomiums of the monastic life. Hearing celibacy to be praised above measure, their consciences are offended with matrimony. Hearing that mendicants are alone perfect, their consciences are offended with retaining their possessions, and carrying on the duties of their calling. Hearing that it is an evangelical counsel not to return injuries, some in private life fear not to revenge themselves, as they hear that it is a counsel, not a precept. Others think that all magisterial offices, and the ordinary duties in society are unfit for Christians. Instances are read of men who, quitting the married state, and resigning the government of a kingdom, have hidden themselves in monasteries. This they call fleeing from the world, and seeking a way of life more pleasing to God: not perceiving that God is to be obeyed in those commands which He has enjoined, not in those which are of man's invention. The good and perfect way of life, is that which is based on the command of God. It is necessary to remind men about these things. And before our own time, Gerson reprehends the error of the monks in reference to perfection, and testifies that in his day, the notion of the monastic life being a state of perfection was new.

Such are the many wicked notions in connection with vows—they are thought to justify, to be Christian perfection, to observe both counsels and precepts, to contain works of superorogation. All which opinions being false, render vows of none effect.

VII. OF THE POWER OF THE CHURCH.

There have been great disputes respecting the power of bishops, in which many men have injuriously mingled together the power of the church and the power of the sword. From this confusion the greatest wars and commotions have proceeded; while the pontiffs, relying upon the power of the keys, have not only instituted new modes of worship—have not only with reservation of cases* and violent communications, burdened consciences; but have also attempted to transfer the kingdoms of the world, and to take away the empire from emperors. Well disposed and learned men have long since reproved these vices in the church. Therefore our preachers, for the comforting of consciences, have been compelled to shew the difference between the ecclesiastical power, and the power of the sword; and have taught that both of them are, because of God's commandment, to be had in great reverence and honor as the highest benefits of God upon earth. And thus our divines think that the power of the keys, or the power of the bishop, is, according to the gospel, a power to preach the gospel, to remit and retain sins,

* Those sins, mortal, external and actually committed, the sacramental absolution of which a superior may reserve to himself. This superior was either the pope who determined the reserved cases for the whole Church, the bishop who did the same for his own diocese and the superiors of the Regulars, who with certain limitations, exercised the same right in respect of those under their rule. Theologia, &c. Dens. Tom vi. De casibus Reservatis.

and to minister the sacraments. For with this commandment Christ sent forth His apostles, saying, *As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whose sins ye retain, they are retained.* (John xx.) Also, in the gospel according to Mark, he says, *Go preach the gospel to every creature,* &c. (Mark xvi.)

This power is to be exercised only in teaching or preaching the word, and administering the sacraments either to many or few, as the case may be; for here are granted, not corporal but eternal things, as eternal righteousness, the Holy Ghost, eternal life. These cannot come but by the ministration of the word and sacraments; as Paul saith, *The gospel is the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth.* Since then the power of the church granteth eternal things, and is exercised only by the ministration of the word, it does not interfere with civil administration, just as the art of singing hinders not civil or political administration; for political administration is occupied about other things than the gospel. The magistrate does not defend minds, but bodies and corporal things against manifest injuries, and restrains men with the sword and corporal punishment, for the maintenance of justice and peace.

Hence, the power of the church and the civil power should not be confounded together. The ecclesiastical has its own commission to teach the gospel and to administer the sacraments. Let it not therefore break into another's office—let it not transfer the kingdoms of the world—let it not abrogate the laws of princes—let it not take away lawful obedience—let it not interrupt judgments in any civil ordinances or contracts—let it not prescribe laws to governors concerning the form of the commonwealth; since Christ

saith: *My kingdom is not of this world.* Again, *Who made me a judge or a divider over you?* And Paul saith to the Philippians, *Our conversation is in heaven,* (Phil. iii.) And to the Corinthians, *The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down imaginations, &c.* (2 Cor. x.) In like manner, our teachers distinguish the functions of both these powers, teaching us to honour them both, and to acknowledge that each of them is the gift and favour of God.

If bishops have any power of the sword, that power they have not, as bishops, by the commandment of the gospel; but by the law of man, bestowed upon them by kings and emperors for the civil administration of their own property. So that this function is different from the ministration of the gospel.

Therefore, whensoever any question is made of the jurisdiction of bishops, the temporal power ought to be separated from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Undoubtedly, according to the gospel, or, as they say, *de jure divino,* no power belongs to the bishops as bishops, that is, as those to whom is committed the ministration of the word and sacraments,—save only the power to remit sins, to inquire into matters of doctrine, to reject a doctrine contrary to the gospel, and to exclude by the word, without the secular arm, notoriously wicked men from the communion of the church. In this the churches are bound by the law of God to render obedience to the bishops according to that saying: *He that heareth you, heareth Me.**

But when they teach any thing against the gospel, then the churches have a command of God prohibiting

* The Lutherans evidently held the doctrine of Apostolical Succession.

obedience: *Beware of false prophets;* (Matt. vii,) and Paul to the Galatians, *If an angel from heaven preach any other gospel, let him be accursed,* (Gal. i.) Also to the Corinthians, *We can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth,* (2 Cor. xiii.) Again, in another place he saith, *Power is given to us for edification, and not for destruction.* So also do the Canons command, *ii q. vii cap. Sacerdotes, et cap. oves.* And St. Austin, in reply to the epistle of Petilianus, says, If catholic bishops be at any time accidentally deceived, and determine any thing against the canonical scriptures of God, we ought not to consent to them.

If bishops have any other power or jurisdiction in determining of certain causes, as of matrimony or of tithes, they have it by man's law; so that when the ordinaries fail in the discharge of their duties, princes are bound, whether they will or not, to see the law administered to their subjects for the continuance of peace among them.

Moreover, it is disputed, whether bishops or pastors have the right to ordain ceremonies in the Church, and to make laws concerning meats, holy days, and degrees of ministers or orders, &c. Those who suppose that power to be vested in bishops, allege this testimony: *I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now, but when the Spirit of Truth is come, He shall teach you all truth.* They allege also the example of the apostles, who made a prohibition that the people should abstain from blood and things strangled. They allege the Sabbath changed into the Lord's day, contrary to the Decalogue, as it appears; nor is there any example more boasted of than the changing of the Sabbath. Great, say they, is the power and authority of the church, since it dispensed with one of the ten commandments.

But as touching this question our divines teach, that bishops have no power to decree and ordain any thing against the gospel, as is shewn above. The canons teach the same thing, (ix dist). Besides, it is contrary to Scripture to make traditions or exact obedience to them, as if by observing them we may make satisfaction for sin, or deserve grace or righteousness. For the glory of the merit of Christ is injured, when by such observances we endeavour to deserve justification. Now it is evident, that because of this persuasion, traditions have grown almost to an infinite number in the church; and the doctrine of faith and the righteousness of faith, hath been in the meanwhile oppressed. And hence more holy days were made and fasting days commanded; new ceremonies, and new honourings [honores] of saints were instituted. For the devisers of such things thought to merit grace by these works. So formerly penitential canons increased, of which we still see some remains in satisfactions.

Likewise the authors of traditions act contrary to the command of God, when they place sin in meats, days, and such like things; and burden the church with the bondage of the law, as if there ought to be among Christians for the meriting of righteousness, a worship of God like unto that of which we read in Leviticus, the ordering whereof God committed, as they say, to the apostles and bishops. And the pontiffs appear in some degree to be deceived by the example of Moses' law: hence those burdens,—that certain meats defile and pollute the conscience, and that it is deadly sin to work on feast days, to omit and leave unsaid canonical hours; that certain meats pollute the conscience, that fastings deserve remission of sins; that sin, in a case reserved, cannot be forgiven without the authority of the reserver, where, indeed,

the canons themselves speak only of the reservation of the canonical penalty, and not of the reservation of guilt.

Whence have the bishops the power and authority to impose these traditions upon the church, to ensnare consciences? when Peter forbids to put a yoke upon the disciples; when Paul says, *That power is given to them for edification, not for destruction.* Why, therefore, do they increase sin by these traditions?

For there are clear testimonies which prohibit the making of such traditions either to deserve grace, or as necessary to salvation. For Paul to the Colossians, saith: *Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, new moons, or Sabbath days.* Again: *If ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances, (touch not taste not, handle not, which all) are to perish with the using, which have the appearance of wisdom, and are after the commandments and doctrines of men?* Also, to Titus he openly prohibited traditions:* *That they should not give heed to Jewish fables and commandments of men, that turn from the truth;* and Christ says of those that enforce traditions: *Let them alone, they are blind, leaders of the blind.* And He reproves such modes of worship: *Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up.*

If bishops have the power of oppressing the churches with infinite traditions and grieving consciences, why doth Scripture so often prohibit the making and following traditions?—and why doth it call them *doctrines of devils?* Did the Holy Ghost forewarn us of these things in vain? Wherefore it must needs follow, that since ordinances, instituted as things

* Jewish traditions, not those of the Church universally received.

necessary, or with the idea of deserving remission of sin, are contrary to the gospel, it is not lawful for any bishop to institute or require such. For it is necessary that the doctrine of Christian liberty be retained in the churches, since the bondage of the law is not essential to justification, as it is written in the Epistle to the Galatians: *Be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage.* The principal fact of the gospel must still be retained—that we obtain grace freely by faith in Christ, and not for certain observances or rites devised by men.

What shall we think then of the Lord's day, and the like rites of the temples? To this our divines respond that it is lawful for bishops or pastors to make ordinances, that things be done orderly in the church; not that we may merit grace, or make satisfaction for sin by them; or that consciences are bound to judge them necessary, or to think that they sin, who, without offending others, break them. So Paul ordains that in the congregation women should cover their heads, and that interpreters and teachers be heard in order in the church.

It is convenient that the churches should keep such ordinances for the sake of charity and tranquillity, so far—lest one should offend another—as that all things may be done in order and without tumult in the churches; but yet—lest the conscience should be wounded by thinking that they are necessary to salvation, or judging that they sin, who, without giving offence to others, break them—so that no one should say that a woman sins who goeth abroad bareheaded, offending none.

Such is the observation of the Lord's day, of Easter, of Pentecost, and the like holy days and rites. For they who judge that by the authority of the church the observing of the

Lord's day, instead of the Sabbath-day,* was ordained as thing necessary, do greatly err. The scripture which teaches that the Mosaic ceremonies since the revelation of the gospel may be omitted, has abrogated the Sabbath. And yet because it was needful to ordain a certain day, that the people might know when they ought to come together, it appears that the church appointed the Lord's day,—which day seems to have pleased the more for this cause also—that men might have an example of Christian liberty, and know that neither the observance of the Sabbath, or of any other day, is necessary.

There are wonderful disputations concerning the changing of the law—the ceremonies of the gospel—the changing of the Sabbath-day,—all which have sprung from a false persuasion that there must needs be in the church the same worship of God as in the Levitical law, and that Christ committed to the apostles and bishops authority to invent new ceremonies essential to salvation. These errors crept into the church when the righteousness of faith was not clearly taught. Some contend that the keeping of the Lord's day is not fully, but only in a certain manner, the ordinance of God; and prescribe about holy days, how far it is lawful to work in them. Such disputations, whatever else they be, are but snares of consciences. For although they endeavour to modify [epiikeizare] their traditions, yet so long as the opinion that they are necessary doth remain (which must needs remain where righteousness of faith and Christian liberty are not known), this equity can never be perceived.

The apostles commanded to abstain from blood; who doth now observe it? And yet they who do not keep it, sin not; for undoubtedly the apostles wished not to burden

* The Lutherans were evidently not Sabbatarians.

the conscience with such bondage, but prohibited it for a time, for avoiding of slander. For the perpetual will of the gospel is to be considered in a decree. Scarcely any canons are diligently kept, and many daily go out of use, even with those who most earnestly defend traditions. Neither can consciences be consulted unless this equity is observed,—that we know the canons are to be kept without the notion of their necessity, and that consciences are not hurt, though traditions fall into disuetude.

Bishops, indeed, might easily preserve lawful obedience, if they would not compel men to keep traditions which cannot be kept with a good conscience. Now they command celibacy; they receive none, unless they swear that they are unwilling to teach the pure doctrine of the gospel. The churches do not require that the bishops should re-establish concord at the price of their dignity, although it would become good pastors so to do. They only require that they would remit unjust burdens newly invented, and received against the custom of the Church Catholic, (quæ nova sunt, et præter consuetudinem Ecclesiæ Catholicæ recepta). Perchance, in the beginning some constitutions were grounded upon probable causes, which, nevertheless, are unsuited to later times. It appears, also, that some were received in error; wherefore, it might please the clemency of the pontificate to mitigate them now, since such change would not break the unity of the Church. For many human traditions have been changed in process of time, as the canons themselves testify. But if we cannot obtain the relaxation of these observances, which, without sin, cannot be complied with, it behoves us to follow the Apostolic rule, and rather to obey God than man. Peter forbids bishops to be lords and emperors over the Church.

Now, it is not intended by us to take away authority (dominatio,) from the bishops; but this one thing is sought for, that they would suffer the Gospel to be purely taught, and that they would relax a few certain ordinances which cannot be observed without sin. But if they will remit nothing, let them consider how they shall render an account to God, in that, by their own obstinacy, they afford the occasion of schism.

CONCLUSION.

These are the chief articles which seem to be controverted between us. For although we could enumerate more abuses, yet in order to avoid prolixity, we have set forth the principal of them, from which others may easily be inferred. There have been many complaints about indulgences, pilgrimages, the abuse of excommunication. Parishes were very much disturbed by the intrusion of monks, with whom the clergy have had infinite disputes about parochial jurisdiction, confessions, burials, unusual meetings, and other numberless subjects. Matters of this kind we have passed over, in order that those which are the most important having been briefly propounded, might be more easily enquired into. Nor has any thing here been said or adduced for the sake of reproaching any one. Those things only have been recited, which seemed necessary to be declared in order that it might be perceived, that in doctrine and ceremonies nothing has been received among us contrary to Scripture or the Catholic Church; since it is manifest that we have most earnestly taken care, that no new and wicked dogmas should creep into our Churches.

We have desired to exhibit, in obedience to the command

of your Imperial Majesty, the articles above written, that our Confession might appear, and a summary of the doctrine of our teachers be known. If any thing in this Confession shall be considered deficient, we are prepared, God willing, to afford more ample information in accordance with the Scriptures.

Your Imperial Majesty's

Faithful and obedient,

JOHN, DUKE OF SAXONY, ELECTOR.
GEORGE, MARQUESS OF BRANDENBURG.
ERNEST, DUKE OF LUNEBERG.
PHILIP, LANDGRAVE OF HESSE.
JOHN FREDERIC, DUKE OF SAXONY.
FRANCIS, DUKE OF LUNEBERG.
WOLFGANG, PRINCE OF ANHALT.
THE SENATE AND MAGISTRACY OF NUREMBERG.
THE SENATE OF REUTLINGEN.

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ERRATA.

Page ix, line two, for "necessary," read "unnecessary."
— xvi, „ four from bottom, for "remitted," read "recalled."
— xx, „ five „ for "Princess," read "Prince."
— — Note, for "Foachim," read "Joachim."
— xxi, line nine from bottom, for "found," read "sound."
— 45, „ three, for "urged," read "urging."
— 67, „ thirteen, for "precepta," read "præcepta."
— 72, „ four, for "superorogation," read "supererogation."

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